

The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., EDITORS

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,

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POETRY.

From the Journal of Reform.

Africa.

Dawn, peaceful day! prophetic day of good.
The watchmen on the heights of Zion faint,
Weary, because thou'lt rest. Bethlehem's star
Has heralded thy coming, oh how long!
And he who once with ardent, rapturous eye,
Gazed on its beauty, tired and wan turns off,
And chides it for a faithless messenger.
Night, gloomy night, broods o'er the enthralled world.
Frequent across the darkness breaks the cry,
"Lo here!" and then, as paltry as the pride
That kindled it, it shoots up a rush light gleam,
And while, from hill and valley, goes the shout,
"A sun! a sun!" it dims and dies; and so
Go out our hopes.

How to bewildered man,
Is truth a stumbling block. How cautiously
He steps along the paths where it grows,
And trembles lest the infection of its touch
Should ruin him. Where thorny error springs,
How careless he supposes. He hath found
In blind expediency, a clever guide
Round the hill "Difficult," and follows on,
Undoubting that the nearest road to heaven
Is by hell's pathway. By a thousand path
So much, he dreads not the effects of sin,
As of forsaking it. With withering frown,
The "unfals consequences of doing right,"
A monster huge, through the dim mist looms up,
And fills him with dismay. Thus Egypt saw
Thick darkness only, in the self same cloud
That threw its glory over Israel's ranks,
What should lead on, to deters.

How like the surge,
Roughened and breaking on a rugged coast,
Nation against nation dashes. Autumn leaves,
Whirled by the tempest, are an emblem fit
Of the rule clashing of the sons of men,
Beheaded in their confusion and so tost
By passion, and conflicting interests up,
In wild commotion, as on wintry blasts.

In this misfortune? Would that name so mild,
Might find a voucher in the deeds of men.
Alas! it cannot. All devouring hate,
(Taking at times the name of selfishness),
Insatiable by the hosts of fiends
Who prowl invisible, hate, unrelieved,
Lies at the bottom. How hath it usurped
Love's kind dominion. Man, within himself,
Queries not how he may serve and bless,
But rises above his fellow. Not the strife
Of giants in the desert, for the least
Lone point of safety o'er the encroaching flood,
Was dearer than the efforts selfish man
Makes to overreach his brother. If no skill,
Or chance, can raise him to the highest place
Attainable by mortals, all his powers
Concentrated, shall have this single aim,
To sink all who are weaker to the lowest.

Hence Africa thy wrongs. The blackest page
Of all recorded guilt, tells of the woes
Borne by thy sable children. If in crime,
There's a degree inferior; if in hell
They reign who sink the lowest, and its thrones
And coronets, are given to those who stand
Pre-eminently great in wickedness,
His are these honors for eternal years.
Who stole, O Desolate! thy helpless sons,
And sick'ning, dying, dragg'd them o'er the waves;
Who put upon their flesh the blighting brand
Of "MERCENARIES," and in a foreign mart,
Sold them as slaves, and took his pay in gold.
Guilt for God's image! crime beyond all thought
Magnanimous; rank with insult to Heaven.
What! shall the immortal soul, with paltry dust,
In price be measured? Man whose angels love,
Majestic, glorious, never dying man,
Shall be in base compare, with gold he brought?
Gold, all earth's gold together, would not vie
In worth with the small atom of a nerve,
Muscle or sinew of a man, in whom
God "breathes the breath of life," even of him
(Who's set to down a block, and sold
For fewer gulden, than a racing horse
Is valued at.

O, hell-engendered deed!
That man should put upon his brother's neck
The foot of pride and power and crush him low;
Then with harsh laws, and scourge, and clanking chain,
To the dust he'll hurl him; keep steadily back
The ailment God gave for soul and mind,
And so infuriate him; rob him of the due
His labor merits; social intercourse
Emblister or restrain; and then at will,
To crown the deed of woe, asunder rend,
Paternal, conjugal and filial ties;
Hither drag one, another thither sell,
To form, mayhap, new bonds of misery,
Or pine in memory of those dissolved.

Thus Christians lord it in a Christian land.
Then said I not in truth, the earth has ceased
Watching day's linkings? the watchmen tell
Waiting day's breaking? But the light will come.
On thee, first, Africa, shall dawn its rays,
And thou shalt rise enfranchised. As thou standest,
Clad in the shining vestiture of meek truth,
Lovely and glorious, a benignant smile
Of sweet forgiveness playing on thy lips
For all thy injuries, and from thy tongue
Dropping kind words of blessing on their heads
Who long oppressed thee; men shall start, amazed,
At beauty so transcendent. Then the curse,
Half uttered, or scarce formed; the injury
Premeditated; the deception planned;
Even the warning engines, ready aimed,
For long designed destruction; all shall fall
Robbed of their purpose. Quickly the warm hand
Of fellowship, shall reach across the seas,
Meet from all nations, and a cordial grasp,
For love so Godlike, shall subdue to love,
By thy example quickened, men shall learn
The mighty gospel truth, till now despised,
To love their neighbor as they do themselves,
And "render good for evil."

Thy brethren have envailed thee, but behold,
Thou art a King, and when they come to thee,
And bow themselves to buy the "bread of life,"

With thy mild sceptre thou shalt lift them up,
And seat them at thy table; teaching them
Repentance for the hate that forged thy bonds,
And for a "coat of colors," exiled thee.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Christian Guardian.

American Slavery.

On our first page will be found an extract from the Address of the Wesleyan Conference in England, in reply to the Address of the American General Conference. It breathes the spirit of brotherly affection and Christian kindness of expression of opinion on the sinfulness and anti-Christianity of the slavery system. Happy will it be for the American Methodist Church, and for the country which she has so much contributed to bless, should the admonitions and advice contained in this admirable document be duly regarded by her influential leaders, so far, at least, as to induce them to cease from their opposition to those of their brethren who are engaged in that noble and philanthropic cause—the abolition of slavery. It is with the most kindly feelings that we express our deep conviction that the cause of Negro Emancipation must and will prevail, and our ardent desire that Methodism in America—which, in every period of her existence, has been forward to engage vigorously in every good work—should at once bend her energies to this, one of the most laudable which has ever claimed her aid. Many of her ministers and members have already closed their ears to the siren song of expediency, and are viewing the subject in its proper light,—as a great moral question; and they have come to the right conclusion, that nothing can justify the continuance of a sinful practice, or cancel the responsibility under which the Church of Christ is laid, to labor for its extinction.

From the Answer of the British Methodist Conference, to the Address from the American Methodist General Conference, just published in the "Minutes of Conference."

We regret that the allusion in our epistle of last year to the subject of slavery should have occasioned you either pain or embarrassment. We claimed an right to suggest any thing to you on this confessedly difficult question, beyond what our fraternal relationship would warrant; a privilege of friendship which we should as freely concede to you as exercise ourselves; and we utterly disclaim all responsibility for any other kind of foreign interference with your views and feelings, which may have been exerted from any other quarter. We are aware, dear brethren, of the peculiar trials to which the evils of slavery have subjected you; and our sympathy with you was most sincere. But, being called upon to address you at a time when the blessings of emancipation had been secured to our own slave population, and when the question, as we knew, occupied much public attention in America, especially amongst religious men, we considered it our duty to give our moral weight in support of those views which were held by our great Founder; which have repeatedly been professed by the British Conference; and which, indeed, have been for many years avowed in your own Book of Discipline and other public documents, and are, we believe, in strict accordance with our merciful and righteous Christianity. Into the details of any measures of emancipation, we did not enter; but, in conformity with our well known sentiments, we intended to affirm the principle, that slavery is a system of oppressive evil, and is in direct opposition to the spirit of our divine religion; and we hoped that the time had arrived, when our beloved sister connection in America would be prepared to act on these sentiments, and receive our suffrages and approving civility. Slavery, in itself, is so obviously opposed to the immutable principles of justice, to the inalienable rights of man of whatever color or condition, to the social and civil improvement and happiness of the human family, to the principles and precepts of Christianity, and to the full accomplishment of the merciful designs of the Gospel, that we cannot but consider it the duty of the Christian church to bear an unequivocal testimony against a system which involves so much sin against God, and so much oppression and wrong, inflicted on an unoffending race of our fellow men.

In common with others, the Wesleyan Conference, and generally the people of their change, took this course during the discussion of the question of emancipation in our own beloved country. The force of Christian principle, peaceably but firmly maintained, and legitimately urged, has overcome every difficulty. The black and colored population of our own colonies have entered into a state of freedom; and the inestimable advantages of religious liberty have been secured on the basis of an equal toleration. The Conference has the means of knowing that the blessing of God, has been graciously vouchsafed to this act of national justice, in the extension of the Gospel, in the conversion of great numbers of the negroes, and in the improved state of society in the colonies.

As it must always be the duty of Christian ministers and churches, not only to embody the principles of their holy religion in their formularies of doctrine and codes of discipline, but also to act upon them, the Wesleyan Conference of this country trust that their American brethren may be enabled, by the constant avowal of the great principle of emancipation, to direct and urge forward their people to unite in the truly Christian enterprise of conferring upon the slave population of the United States the inestimable benefits of civil and religious freedom.

In assuming the right of mildly, but firmly, pressing such sentiments on public attention, the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in America cannot, any more than ourselves, be chargeable with an inconsistent zeal. Whilst the Methodist connection in England zealously concurred in adopting measures to secure the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, they at the same time supported one of the most extended and expensive Missions of modern times, in order to prepare them for the home. We are aware, that our brethren in America have, in like manner, by their itinerant and Missionary labors, done much in conferring the blessings of religious instruction on the slave population of their country; and surely the men who have thus aided the foundation for a peaceable state of society, founded on freedom, cannot but have the right to recommend and support all proper and lawful measures for the consummation of their own great work.

But in addition to these inferior considerations, the Conference cannot but avow its conviction that in all cases it is most safe, and in the end most advantageous, that Christian churches should act on the principle of religious obligation and duty. And although it deeply deplores that the Methodists of the United States should be exposed to inconvenience, obloquy, or danger, by the assertion of right sentiments on this subject; yet as the evil of slavery does exist there,—as they are brought into immediate contact with it,—as they are called, in the order of Divine Providence, to maintain their long-published and scriptural testimony against it, even in the midst of this state of things,—and as the progress of events renders it impossible, even if it were lawful, that they should be neutral,—the British Conference trusts that it will not be considered as in any way exceeding the privileges of the fraternal relation existing between the two parties, when it expresses its anxious and earnest hope that our American brethren will feel it their duty, in union with other Christians, to adopt such measures as may lead to the safe and speedy emancipation of the whole slave population of their great and interesting country.

PETITIONS.—The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce exults at the fact, that not a single abolition petition has yet been presented to Congress. His folly is characteristic, but his exultation is premature. There will be more abolition petitions sent, during the present session, than our opponents imagine. As a consequence, the following have been transmitted from this city to Messrs. Webster, Davis, Hoar, Adams, &c., signed by females exclusively, viz.

42 from Worcester County, 1833
4 " Hampden Co. 360

18 " Middlesex Co. 1948
5 " Norfolk Co. 647
1 " Hampshire Co. 112
4 " Barnstable Co. 224
5124

The Boston ladies' petition will be forwarded immediately. It is earnestly desired that all memorials of ladies, intended to be forwarded from Boston, should be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, 45, Washington-street, without delay. It is met that the mails and matrons of this Commonwealth should take the lead in this matter—but what are the men doing?

Those by whom petitions are transmitted to Congress should be careful to keep a register of the places from which they originate—the number of signatures—whether males or females, &c. It is not probable that the sum total either of petitions or signatures, sent to the last Congress, was correctly announced. Unquestionably, many more were received than were acknowledged by Mr. Pickney and his associates. Let abolitionists keep a true reckoning.—*Id.*

SOUTHERN ARGUMENT.

From the Richmond Inquirer.

ABOLITION SOCIETIES, vs. THE UNION!

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is not my object to go into a history of the origin and progress of the interference of foreign emissaries and the misguided philanthropists of the Northern States, with the rights and interests of the slaveholder, but to lay before you a few extracts from the Code of Laws of Old Massachusetts Bay, which were enacted in relation to Negroes, when that State not only held slaves, but took an active part in the slave trade, and imported negroes and Indians as slaves. I am induced to lay these extracts before you, in consequence of the many recent instances of fraudulent abduction, harboring and liberation of slaves, by officious associations of "righteous" "abolitionists," encouraged and supported by some of the legal functionaries of some of the States, and particularly by those of Massachusetts herself. I do this, that it may be seen how the views and policy of Massachusetts, then, when she was a slave-holding State, correspond with the present laws of the slave-holding States, touching that subject. It will be perceived that the laws of the immediate descendants of the Puritans, were as severe and degrading to the colored race, as any Southern code of the present time. You cannot fail to contrast the rigid policy Massachusetts then adopted for her own domestic peace and self-preservation, with the disorganizing and incendiary doctrines which her Abolitionists are now endeavoring, in conjunction with their affiliated new light fanatics, in other States, to inculcate upon the slaves of the Southern States. Whatever may be the doctrines and practices of a few doped and deluded citizens of Massachusetts, or any other of the Northern States, surely a proper regard to principles of international law, veneration for the Constitution, and attachment to the Federal Union, will keep the great mass of the Northern people pure and uncontaminated. If these infuriated agitators should quote the favorite text of all new light mischief-makers, and tell me "God willed it at the ignorance" of their fathers, I answer, their fathers had the Bible. Besides, the Bible nowhere authorizes any self-constituted associations of individuals, to disturb the political or domestic relations of the society in which they live. By the way, whence do church judicatories derive their authority for interfering in any manner with the abolition of slavery? If they may meddle with one political question, why not with another, and with all? Would it not be well for the "peace of Jerusalem," and the good of society in general, if Ecclesiastical bodies would examine whether they have "turned aside to vain jangling," and whether they are not bringing heavy judgments upon their own heads?

But, we turn from this digression;—for, the whole tenor and spirit of our political institutions and laws, wisely keep us aloof from all church connection, and from all intermixture of theology and politics. Let us sum up the system of policy adopted by Massachusetts, at the time alluded to, and then refer to the extracts from her own code of laws:

1st. While she was a slave-holding State, she considered the importation of her slaves a great public evil; and actually interdicted and invalidated such emancipation except under bond and security from the owner, that the emancipated shall not become a public charge.

2nd. Their slaves were sentenced to the House of Correction, and whipped, if absent from home after nine o'clock at night.

3rd. Congress between a negro or mulatto and a white person, was punished by fine and whipping. Intermarriage between negroes and white persons were forbidden under severe penalties; and a negro or mulatto, free or slave, who should presume to strike a white person, was sentenced by law to be severely whipped.

4. Free negroes and mulattoes, not being admitted to military training, &c., were required to render equivalent service by working on the high ways and cleaning of Jerusalem, and they were subject to be fined and whipped for neglecting to perform the same; they were also forbidden to harbor slaves, under penalty of a fine, or to be whipped for every such offence.

5th. Negro and mulatto slaves, were rated as taxable property, along with houses, lands, cattle, swine, &c.

6th. The importations of negroes as slaves, was authorized by law, as late as 1728, and made a source of revenue by a rateable duty per head. And only a few years before, (in 1711,) had they forbidden the further importation of Indians as slaves; not, however, from motives of humanity to the Indians, or from a view to their emancipation, (for those imported against the law were forfeited as slaves, to the use of the government,) but from the most selfish reasons enumerated, touching their debased character.

On the other hand, what is the system the Abolitionists have adopted towards the Southern people now in relation to the subject?

1st. They denounce them for continuing to hold slaves longer than they did; notwithstanding "the difference of circumstances between the North and the South," recognized in the preamble of the subjoined act of 1711, would justify to them, and to the world, the necessity under which the South has continued to submit to the continuance of all that evil.

2nd. They send among the slaves incendiary publications and show bills of libellous horror, to arouse to insurrection and general massacre; and some of them venture into the very bosoms of the Southern people, to propagate, in person, their diabolical doctrines.

3rd. They encourage the slave to abandon their homes, and to take refuge at the North, where they are harbored by Abolitionists, and taught to set their owners at defiance, in their efforts to reclaim them. Nay, the Abolitionists of Massachusetts have recently gone to the *ne plus ultra* in pronouncing a judicial decision that "slaves are free, de facto, upon reaching their soil," and have denounced the owners as interfering with their institutions and laws, when they take their servants with them to make a temporary sojourn upon business or pleasure.

These remarks will be found to apply to most of the other Northern States, besides Massachusetts. Their new doctrines are equally in reprobatum of the sound sense and policy of their forefathers, as of that of the South, under similar necessities; but not so easily laid aside, because of the "difference of circumstances between the North and the South."

But, fellow citizens, notwithstanding the difference of climate, soil and other circumstances, which render slavery unendurable at the North, and indispensable to the South—unavoidable at the North, and tremendously riveted on the South; notwithstanding the example of their own fathers, and law-givers, they cannot, or rather will not, cease to agitate society and threaten a dissolution of our happy Union. For this incendiary mischief, a remedy must be found. If any should ask what is the remedy? I answer, with pleasure, a certain and efficient one may be found in the patriotism of the great body of our Northern brethren. If, unfortunately for my country, if I mistake in this opinion, a speedy remedy must and will be adopted at home,

by taking our stand upon "the first law of nature." God knows this is not said by way of idle threat! If our Northern brethren either cannot, or will not, put down their disturbers of our peace, as much as we love them, as much as we value the Union, we must part; and that speedily. The sooner, the better, for the longer the evil day shall be put off, if come it must, the worst will the evil be to us. These are the sentiments and opinions of
A VIRGINIAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN AFFECTING STORY.

The following affecting story is from the *Western Christian Advocate*. The statement was made by a Methodist local preacher, who was himself the sufferer. A pious negro who was converted through his instrumentality, was present and heard the relation, and repeated it to the correspondent of the above-mentioned paper. The writer has seen others who knew Jack, and he believes the narrative may be relied on as one of truth. They give it a conspicuous place, as it most evidently deserves it.—*Zion's Herald*.

"When I was a lad, (said Jack in his sermon) there were no religious people in the neighborhood where I lived. But I had a young master about my own age, who was going to school; and he was very fond of me, at night he would come into the kitchen to learn me the lessons, he had learned himself during the day at school.—In this way I learned to read. When I was well-nigh grown up, we took the New Testament, and agreed to read it verse by verse; and when one would make any mistake, the other was to correct him, for the purpose of learning to read well. In a short time we both became sensible that we were sinners before God, and jointly agreed to seek the salvation of our souls. The Lord heard our mutual prayer, gave us both religion, and I commenced holding meetings for prayer, and exhortation, among the black people in the neighborhood.

My old master soon found out what was going on, and was very angry, especially on account of his son's having become religious; and forbade my holding any more meetings saying that if I did, he would chastise me severely for it. From that time, however, I continued to preach or exhort on Sabbaths, and Sabbath nights, and on Monday morning my old master would tie me up, and cut my back to pieces with the cowhide; so that it never had time to get well, and I was obliged to perform my work in a great deal of pain from day to day.

This state of things continued nearly eighteen months; when on one Monday morning, my master, as usual, had made my fellow slaves bind me to a shade tree in the yard, after stripping my back naked to receive the cowhide. It was a beautiful morning in summer time, and the sun shone exceedingly bright, and every thing around appeared very pleasant. He approached me with cool deliberation, took his stand and surveyed me narrowly. But the cowhide hung motionless at his side. It was an eventful moment in the history of his life—when conscience triumphed over the malignant spirit of a persecuting tyrant.

"Well Jack, your back is all covered with scars and sores, and I see no place to begin to whip.—You incorrigible wretch, how long do you intend to go on in this way?"

"Why, master, just so long as the Lord will let me live," was my reply.

"Well, what is your design in it?"

"Why, in the morning of the resurrection, when my poor body shall rise from the grave, I intend to show these scars to my Heavenly Master, as so many witnesses of my faithfulness in his cause here upon earth."

He ordered me to be untied, and sent me to hoe corn in the field. Late in the evening, he came along pulling a weed here, and a weed there, till he got to me, and told me to sit down.

"Jack," said he, "I want you to tell me the truth, honestly. You know for a long time you have been constantly sore from the cowhide, and had to work very hard, and are a poor slave; now tell me, are you happy or not, under such afflictions as these?"

"Yes, master, I believe I am as happy a man as there is on earth."

"Well, Jack, I am not happy. Your religion, you say, teaches you to pray for those that persecute you. Now will you pray for your old master, Jack?"

"Yes, with all my heart," said I.

We knelt down, and I prayed for him. He came again and again to me, and I prayed for him in the field, till he found peace in the blood of the Lamb. We afterward lived together like brothers in the same church, and on his death-bed he gave me my liberty, and told me to go on preaching as long as I lived, and meet him at last in heaven. I have seen many Christians I loved, but I have never seen any I loved so well as my old master, and I have no doubt I shall meet him in heaven."

TEXAS.

Indiana has spoken in relation to the annexation of Texas, and decidedly against it. A joint resolution has passed its first and second reading, expressing the dissent of that state to the measure. This is right. The North cannot too soon make known their determination on this great question. Before they are aware—while they deliberate, the commissioners of Texas are at Washington, and pre-occupying the public ear. What course will the Legislature pursue? Here is a proposition equal in magnitude to the Missouri question, and it awakens no attention. If it be decided by us, there appears no alternative but a separation, either voluntary or forcible, between the two great interests of the Union. Not now, perhaps, but eventually, when the North shall become weary of the requirements of the South, or the South enraged at the unpliant manner of the North.—It is as inevitable as the progress of the current

in its channel, it may be retarded, checked, resisted for a time; but while the attributes of nature remain in existence, the ocean at length receives it in spite of all. But the consequences of this measure will rush upon us. They will not approach at a slow and gentle pace, so that we may anticipate the period when it will be necessary to look about for safety, for no sooner shall the first embrace of our new friend be received there, than we shall find ourselves descending the scale of the balance of power. Texas is not like Georgia and Louisiana, one half swamp, nor like North Carolina, two-thirds barren—it is rich, healthy and extensive. Slave labor will enrich, and not impoverish that Eden of America, for the northern acuteness and enterprise, is so mingled with southern wealth that the true interest of the state will be followed. She will stand in her representation in Congress, along side of Virginia and Ohio, in a very short time, and the labor of all those representatives will be what the object of all the southern delegations have been, the advancement of the home interest, trampling upon every other.—*Cleveland Gazette*.

ENNOBLING INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.—Extract from the will of William Clarke, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica, in the Secretary's office of that Island:—"It is also my wish and desire that my executors, hereinafter mentioned, do manumit my three reputed brown children by Rose, viz. Eleanor Clarke, Janet Clarke, and John Clarke; and that my executors, hereinafter mentioned do purchase a negro girl for each of my reputed brown daughters aforesaid, as soon as convenient, after the debts are paid. And it is my wish and desire that THEIR MOTHER Rose, shall attend, as a slave on my two reputed daughters aforesaid, during the first ten years."

Extract of a letter from a New England correspondent of the N. Y. Evangelist.

The writer had been attending a monthly concert, in Boston, for the enslaved, and had given a sketch of an address from Mr. Easton, a colored minister of the gospel, wherein the speaker had been remarking on the prejudice against color.

"Mr. Garrison afterwards stated that he had been informed by a colored clergyman of New York, that many of the colored people had embraced infidelity, in consequence of the manner in which they were treated when they entered the house of worship. They could not embrace a religion which seemed to forbid men from worshipping their Creator on terms of equality. The infidels in Tammany Hall, said he, make no such invidious distinctions—the Catholics make none—among them, white and colored people sit promiscuously; but among us, Protestants, a colored man must be marked as an inferior being, by being placed in a lower seat. Mr. G. also said, in reply to Mr. Easton's allusion to himself, that when he entered upon this work he endeavored to make himself in feeling a colored man; to identify himself with them, and to feel and act as though he were one of their number; and he thought he had succeeded. As an evidence of this, he stated that previous to his mission to Europe he had for several years corresponded with Mr. Buxton; and on his arrival, before that gentleman had seen him, he met a friend and informed him he was going to have Mr. Garrison, a colored gentleman from America, to dine with him. He had so completely identified himself, in feeling and action, with those whose cause he was advocating, that from his writings and correspondence he was judged to be a colored man.

Though it is very fashionable to abuse Mr. Garrison, and though I will never undertake to endorse all the sayings and doings of any man, yet I could not help feeling that the man who could act thus must be a noble-hearted man.

POWER OF PREJUDICE.—Here is an instance of the power of prejudice, related by a correspondent of the Patriot, travelling in Holland to ascertain the state and prospects of Dutch Dissent. "We were travelling between Amersfoot and Amsterdam. There were nine inside passengers, one of whom, a young clergyman of remarkably prepossessing manners and appearance, was treated by the rest with marked attention and deference. He was a stranger, and evidently a favorite. In a little while the conversation assumed a graver character, and the doctrine of justification by faith came under discussion. The clergyman plainly leaned to the Evangelical view, and all went on harmoniously. The diligence stopped, and our reverend friend stepped out for a few moments to purchase a biscuit. A person approached the diligence, and mentioned the name of the clergyman, and looks of amazement and horror were instantly exchanged. "So good-looking," exclaimed a lady in black, in the corner, who had been one of his most fervent admirers. "So good-looking, and yet such a monster!" He returned to his seat, and dead silence ensued. A negro unexpectedly dropped into a company of American citizens—a box-constructor in a wood—or a tiger in a jungle, could not have occasioned greater dismay. Mrs. —, who sat next to the lady in black, whispered in her ear the inquiry, "who and what is he?" A fanatic, was the reply—a vulgar fanatic, "a man who will to-morrow be pelted in the streets of Amsterdam"—"an apostate from his religion"—"a man whom the king has put out of the church." "Who," added she, "but a fanatic, would ever have thought of introducing religion into a diligence?" This good-looking monster—who by the bye, had a remarkably youthful and gentle expression—was the Rev. Mr. Brummelkamp, one of the seceding ministers."

By a law of Maryland, passed in 1715, if a white man marry a black woman, he renders himself liable to be sold to the highest bidder as a slave, for the term of seven years, and vice versa—this law is still in force.

London Chr. Ad.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, JAN. 20, 1837.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—The Philanthropist will be sent occasionally, during the present session of Congress, to the members of that Body—especially to those from slave-holding states. We have no other object in doing so, than to furnish them with such information as our paper contains of the true state of a question in which they are much concerned, and about which nothing should be withheld from them. Should any of them return us the paper, with their names written on the envelope or margin, it shall be considered as the expression of a desire that it should not be sent again.

FINANCIAL AGENT.

We would inform our friends throughout the state, that M. R. Robinson, is now acting as Financial Agent of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, under authority of the Executive Committee of the same.

THOMAS HIBBEN, of Wilmington, Clinton county, will please act as local agent for the Philanthropist.

Reply to S. L.

It is our intention now to expose what we consider the unreasoning in Judge L's article. In our view, the source of his errors is to be found in his vague conception of the phrase, "moral power." It will be recollected that in our 18th No. we took some pains to define this "power." In the attempt, we anticipated the argument of our correspondent, and as we think, made apparent its fallacy. It therefore surprised us when he said, we had "evaded, but not answered his argument." It is probable, however, that he had not seen the number referred to, especially as he was informed in his first communication, that it was the 20th No. of the Philanthropist, which had fallen into his hands and given occasion to his remarks.

We shall therefore take the liberty of transcribing a portion of our observations on this subject published in the 18th number.

"Preliminary to the argument," we said, "it is proper to define our terms and lay down certain principles, which shall find their application in the course of our remarks."

I. We would first of all distinguish moral from legislative power. The former induces or counsels; the latter commands. The one treats man as a subject, the other as an independent being. Legislative power is coercive because of its right to employ penalties, which, in the language of Blackstone, "bring to pass that no man can easily choose to transgress the law, since by reason of the impending correction compliance is in a high degree preferable to disobedience." Moral power is suasive, having no power to inflict compulsory punishment.

2. The absence of Legislative power does not imply an absence of moral power. Because I have no right to command, it does not follow that I have none to persuade. In many cases, it might be right or proper to employ moral force, where to legislate would be ineffectual or absurd. For example, any legislative enactment, which should forcibly and for no crime, deprive a distiller of all the ardent spirits he owns, would be clearly ineffectual; but to induce such a person, by the influence of moral reasons, voluntarily to destroy this species of property, contravenes no law and is perfectly right. Again: were the Congress of the United States to ordain, that from and after a certain date, idolatry should forever cease in the Chinese empire, and Christianity be established in its stead, the absurdity of the ordinance would be obvious to any one; but that individuals should congregate in societies, in which the religious condition of that empire should be discussed, and moral means devised whereby the kingdom of Jesus Christ might be established and extended within its borders, commends itself to the common sense of every man, as being at least not invasive of any principle of international law.

Christianity being aggressive, the whole plan of its operations is based on the truth, that a right to act morally depends not on human enactment, and may properly be exerted where legislation would be unwarranted.

3. An acknowledgment whether express or implied of the absence of all right to legislate, does by no means involve a concession of the right to use moral influence. By nature I have no right to coerce my neighbor into a line of conduct that may fall in with my views; by compact, I may acknowledge either expressly or by implication that I have no such right. But as the natural defect of coercive power does not deprive me of moral power, neither does the acknowledgment of this defect subject me to such deprivation. I can admit that circumstances may demand an avowal on the part of a state or an individual of the want of all right to legislate for others; but I can conceive of no circumstances which would call for or warrant an abandonment, by individuals or states, of their right to the employment of moral influence. The right to act upon others by moral means is never to be surrendered. It is a gift of God conferred for purposes too high and holy ever to be thrown away. Any constitutional provision, which should divest me of it, would so flagrantly interfere with my rights of conscience, and be so directly opposed to the principles of that revelation which we all acknowledge to be Divine, that in no case could it be considered obligatory. Deprived of this right, obedience to the great law of social love becomes impossible, except to a very limited extent. For Christian love is not a motionless feeling a fruitless sentiment, but a restless, energetic passion, manifesting itself in all wisdom, by example, precept, and action. Take away from me the right of moral action, and show could I obey that God, who teaches me "in any wise to rebuke my neighbor and not suffer sin upon him," and to lift up my voice in behalf of the needy and oppressed? Now as such commands have a continuous, never-ending and universal obligation, it follows that neither by our own act nor by the act of others, can we be divested of the right to use moral power, seeing such a right is necessary to the performance of paramount duties.

4. From the preceding observations we gather the following conclusions. 1. In any compact for the purpose of forming a system of government, the associating parties mutually concede whatever amount of legislative power they deem requisite to the attainment of union and concord, provided such a concession do not compromise a right to the exercise of moral power. 2. The sacrifice of such a right, as in no case it could be considered as obligatory upon any individual of the compacting parties, so by no rule of construction could it be inferred from any merely legislative concession, because the concession of such a right would be so singular and so criminal, that we could not suppose any set of men capable of making it, unless indeed they should compel us to believe it by a formal and explicit statement.

We believe that the foregoing passage contains the appropriate answer to Judge L's argument. His argument stands thus: "Because the laws of the slave-states authorize slavery; because the constitution sanctions and confirms these laws, or more properly, does not nullify them; because the constitution gives a constitutional right to the peaceable and undisturbed possession of slaves, or more properly, does not forbid slavery, and does forbid the intervention of all foreign coercion; because the constitution binds every man in the free states so to respect slavery, as to let alone all attempts to disturb, by force, the slave-holder in the enjoyment of his slave property; and because, finally, it has com-

manded slaves escaping from a slave-state into a free one, to be given up again on proper demand—therefore, "every act of the people, either of the free or slave-holding states, tending to disturb us in the enjoyment of the right in question, or to deprive us of it without our consent, is a plain and positive violation of the constitution of the United States, and also of the laws of the slave-holding states." Now we ask our correspondent to re-examine his premises. He will find, that they all agree in this—the defect of any power in Congress or the free states to interfere by direct legislation with the system of slavery, as existing in the slave holding states. It is this defect of legislative power which he calls a sanction. And it is this defect, as set forth in his first three propositions, on which he grounds the broad conclusion contained in proposition fourth. Let Judge L. now carefully consider what is implied in this conclusion. We have called it a broad one. It is as broad as language can make it. He will permit us to call his attention to a few things it embraces. Discussion of the system of slavery, with all its uncounted curses, tends to disturb the slave-holder and is therefore unconstitutional. Discussion of the subject of slavery "in the abstract," as practiced by Colonizationists, tends to disturb the slave-holder and is therefore unconstitutional. The speech of John Quincy Adams, at the last session of Congress, tending to disturb the slave-holder and was therefore unconstitutional. Petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in a district, over which constitutionally they have "exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever," tend to disturb the slave-holder and are therefore unconstitutional. All those acts of the states, now free, for the abolition of the slavery that existed in some of them, tended to disturb the slave-holder and were therefore unconstitutional. All benevolent attempts to elevate the character and condition of the black man in the free states, will disturb the slave-holder, and will be therefore unconstitutional. The late decision of Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts tends seriously to disturb the slave-holder, and is therefore unconstitutional. Any discussion which may hereafter accidentally arise on the Texan question, will tend to disturb the slave-holder, and will therefore be unconstitutional. The wonderful thrift and enterprise and wealth and population of the North, when compared with the South, as testified to by Mr. Preston of South Carolina, tend to disturb the slave-holder in his enjoyment of the right of property in man, by demonstrating the superior excellence of free labor, and are therefore unconstitutional! Judge L. will doubtless perceive that he has made his conclusion too general. Had it not been for the prejudice of American people generally in favor of the right of talking and printing, it is probable that he would have limited his conclusion specifically to the object, which he aimed to reach in a more indirect and less obvious way. He would have said at once, "therefore, the free discussion of slavery, inasmuch as it disturbs the slave-holder in the enjoyment of the right of holding man as slaves, and tends to deprive him of it without his consent, is a plain and positive violation of the constitution." It strikes us, that when Judge L. thus sees his real conclusion set forth in its legitimate language, he will himself be almost reluctant to admit it.

In addition to what we have already said, we may further illustrate the unsoundness of the argument, by applying it substantially to other cases, in which its fallacy will be abundantly obvious. Take first the case of a Distiller.

I affirm 1. That the laws of the several states "authorize every free man within their limits, to purchase, and own" distilleries, and "to hold and employ" them for purposes of gain; "and that those laws are sanctioned and confirmed by the constitution of the United States. All this is admitted. 2. I affirm that the constitution and laws just mentioned, give to every Distiller, "a legal and constitutional right, to the peaceable and undisturbed possession and use" of his distilleries. "This is too clear to be denied. And 3. I affirm, that the constitution of the United States binds every man in any state to respect these laws in any other state and to leave every distiller in the peaceable and undisturbed enjoyment of the right just mentioned, which these laws give him. This also is "in effect," granted in the admission that the law, which provides for the recovery of damage done to property, is intended to secure the entire independence of the distiller, as well as the manufacturer, &c. against all aggressions. Now if the federal constitution forbids the people of one state to disturb the distillers of other states, by any law passed at its legislature; and if the constitution of each state forbids its citizens to deprive, by law, the distillers within its limits, of their property—will you contend that these constitutions do not forbid the same people to disturb them "without law"? If the constitution provides that no private property shall be taken without due compensation, does it not thereby acknowledge and enforce the right of the distiller to his property? and does it not thereby require the people to respect that right and leave him in the undisturbed enjoyment of it? If this be so, it follows clearly, 4. "that every act of the people tending to disturb the distiller 'in the enjoyment of the right in question, or to deprive him of it without his consent, is a plain and positive violation of the Constitution of the United States," and of those of the states respectively. I have retained it, it will be perceived, all the essential features of Judge L's argument. I have argued, as he has done, the defect of all right to use moral power, from the defect of a right to legislate. My premises were, that the federal and state constitutions and the laws authorized the distiller to hold distilleries, and forbade the people to interfere by force or legislation for the destruction of his property. These are precisely the premises of Judge L., substituting alone distiller for slave-holder, and so of the correlatives. And by a process of reasoning precisely like that pursued by this gentleman, I arrived at the conclusion, that the whole temperance scheme is entirely illegal and unconstitutional!

Another case.—I affirm, for the sake of the argument, 1. That the laws of the state of Ohio authorize every white man within its limits to purchase and own bank-stock, and to hold and employ it for his own use; and that the constitution of the state sanctions and confirms those laws. 2. I affirm, that the constitution and laws just mentioned give to every stockholder a legal and constitutional right to the peaceable and undisturbed possession and use of his stock. And 3. I affirm that the constitution binds every citizen to respect the laws of the state, and to leave every stockholder in the peaceable and undisturbed enjoyment of the right just mentioned. 4. It follows clearly then that every act of the people, tending to disturb stock-holders in the enjoyment of the right in question or to deprive them of it without their consent, is a plain and positive violation of the Constitution.

The above is the substance of Judge L's argument, applied to prove the unconstitutionality of freely discussing and freely denouncing bank monopolies as impolitic, unjust and oppressive. We know not what may be the political sentiments of this gentleman, but we do know that if he be one of that class of persons who suppose they see in monopolies a source of nearly all the mischief in the country, such an argument must appear to him strangely fallacious.

But it may be, S. L. will claim for his premises, more than we can believably allow him. He may say, that they not only set forth the defect of all legislative power on the part of Congress or the free states to interfere with southern slavery, but that they are intended to affirm the fact, that the constitution does positively and solemnly sustain the whole system. We will concede for a moment, all that he claims, and then by a parallel case, attempt to show how necessarily absurd is that mode of reasoning, which proceeds on the assumption, that because the Constitution may direct-

ly and explicitly sanction any system, it, for that reason, exalts it above free discussion.

At a certain period in the history of our government, the party in power, with the chief executive at their head, verily believed that Congress had a right to commence and carry through an extensive system of internal improvements. Accordingly, such a system was instituted and prosecuted with vigor. We will suppose Judge L. to have been in the minority. As a man, feeling the welfare of his country near his heart, we will suppose that he set himself to work, for the purpose of opposing and finally thwarting the entire scheme of policy of the reigning party. The leaders of the party sustained themselves on this wise. The constitution authorizes us in carrying into effect our scheme of policy. It sanctions the whole system of internal improvements, as devised by us. It gives us a constitutional right to make as many roads, or public highways, as we may judge necessary for the general welfare, and it gives us a constitutional right to the peaceable and undisturbed prosecution of our peculiar policy. Therefore, every act of the minority, and every act of yours, Mr. L., tending to disturb us in the enjoyment of the right in question, that is, the right to make all necessary public highways, or to deprive us of the right without our consent, is a plain and positive violation of the constitution of the United States. Our correspondent would doubtless marvel at such a mode of argumentation. And yet "thou art the man." This argument rests on precisely the same principle, which according to your claims, constitutes the basis of your argument. Why, the fact is, if the federal constitution openly pronounced a benediction on slavery, by name, sanctified it as holy and good, fortified it by the highest penal sanctions, and yet left the slave-holder at liberty to emancipate, and left the liberty of speech and of the press unbridled; Abolitionism, which is neither more nor less than this liberty freely exercised to persuade to the full exercise of that liberty, would not only be constitutional, but every attempt made to legislate for its forcible suppression would be unconstitutional in the highest degree.

More in our next number.

THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON THE CHARACTER OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

He who would obtain a full idea of the nature of Slavery, must not consider its effects upon the Slave alone, but also on the master. Oppression, while it extinguishes the happiness and destroys the nobleness of its victims, is death to the virtuous excellence of the oppressor. This is a righteous ordination. Even in this life, God gives abundant tokens of his hastening wrath, in the fearful effects of crime on the character of the criminal. These remarks are strikingly illustrated in the subjoined extract. It is part of an article, lately written by B. B. Smith of Lexington, Kentucky, and published in the Lexington Intelligencer, entitled "Thoughts on the frequency of Homicides in the State of Kentucky." After some complimentary remarks to Kentucky, the writer proceeds:

"But after this cordial tribute to the much which is excellent, in the average of the character of the householders and landlords of this Commonwealth, it cannot be concealed that a portion of our floating population is singularly reckless, passionate and violent. And the writer has never conversed with a travelled and enlightened European or Eastern man, who has not expressed the most undisguised horror at the frequency of homicide and murder within our bounds, and at the ease with which the homicide escapes from punishment.

As to the frequency of these shocking occurrences, the writer has some opportunity of being correctly impressed, by means of a yearly tour through many counties of the State. He has also been particularly in making inquiries of our most distinguished legal and political characters, and from some has derived conjectural estimates which were truly alarming. A few have been of the opinion, that on an average, one murder a year may be charged to the account of every county in the State, making the frightful aggregate of 850 human lives sacrificed to revenge, or the victims of momentary passion, in the course of every ten years. Others have placed the estimate much lower, and have thought that 30 for the whole State, every year, would be found much nearer the truth. An attempt has been made lately to obtain data more satisfactory than conjecture, and circulars have been addressed to the clerks of most of the counties, in order to arrive at as correct an estimate as possible of the actual number of homicides during the three years last past. It will be seen, however, that statistics thus obtained, even from every county in the State, would necessarily be imperfect, inasmuch as the records of the courts by no means show all the cases which occur, some escaping without any of the forms of a legal examination, and there being many affairs which end only in wounds, or where the parties are separated.

From these returns, it appears that in 27 counties there have been within the last three years, of homicides of every grade 35, but only 8 convictions in the same period, leaving 27 cases which have passed wholly unpunished. During the same period there have been from 85 counties, only eleven commitments to the State prison, nine for manslaughter and two for shooting with intent to kill, and not an instance of capital punishment in the person of any white offender. Thus an approximation is made to a general average, which probably would not vary much from one in each county every three years, or about two hundred and eighty in ten years.

It is believed that such a register of crime amongst a people professing the Protestant religion and speaking the English language, is not to be found, with regard to any three quarters of a million of people, since the downfall of the feudal system. Compared with the records of crime in Scotland or the Eastern States, the results are absolutely shocking! It is believed there are more homicides on an average of two years, in any of our more populous counties, than in the whole of several of our States, of equal or nearly equal white population with Kentucky.

This strong case presents a question of deep and solemn interest to the statesman and philanthropist. What sad and strange combination of causes can have led to such a dreadful destruction of valuable life? The victims of these crimes are not always, by any means, the most worthless of our population. This is not the kind of blood-letting which may benefit the community (if so horrible an idea could for one moment, be entertained) by summarily ridding it of its filth and obscuring. It too often happens that the enlightened citizen, the elevated lawyer, the affectionate husband, and precious father, are thus instantaneously taken from their useful stations on earth, and hurried, all unprepared, to their final account!"

The question is again asked, what could have brought about, and can perpetuate this shocking state of things?—And can the wisdom and humanity of this great and enlightened community devise no means by which the hand of the destroyer can be arrested, and the lives of our honored and useful citizens preserved, to bless their families and their country?

Until some person more fitted for the work shall be found, an attempt will here be made to point out a few of the causes which may possibly have conspired to bring about these sad results.

1. Is it not possible that the newness of the country may be one of these causes? so far, at least, as the Indian hunter and the pioneer woodsman, might have become, more than others, familiar with scenes of violence and blood, and have been taught to hold human life, as such persons proverbially do, at an exceedingly low value? May not the passion, the recklessness, and the boasted chivalry of such characters, have been handed down to their sons? Is this heaven altogether lost from among us?

2. Has not a public sentiment which we hear characterized as singularly high-minded and honorable, and sensitively alive to every affront, whether real or imaginary, but which strangers denigrate rough and ferocious, much to do in provoking these assaults, and then in applauding instead of punishing the offender?

3. Are not some of the indirect influences of a system, the existence of which amongst us can never be sufficiently deplored, discoverable in these affairs? Are not our young men more heady, violent and imperious, in consequence of their early habits of command? And are not our taverns and other public places of resort, more crowded with

an inflammable material, than if young men were brought up in the staid and frugal habits of those who are constrained to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow?

4. There may not be more intemperate persons where these last named causes exist, but is not intemperance more social, more inflammatory, more pugnacious where a fancied superiority of gentlemanly character is felt, in consequence of exemption from severe manual labor? Is there over-stubbing where there is not idleness and strong drink?

5. Do the intelligent, the high principled and refined down with sufficient abhorrence on the unpunished homicide? Are not murders too often spoken of as unfortunate affairs, and unhappy circumstances, and the murderer as a man rather to be pitied than condemned? A case of shocking homicide is remembered, where the guilty person was acquitted by a sort of acclamation, and the next day was seen in public with two ladies hanging on his arm!

6. Is there not a sad want of home restraint and family government amongst us, leaving our young men to grow up, proud, impetuous and reckless of all responsibility? And doesn't this cause continue to exist and to increase, in the absence of all strict government in our schools and colleges?

7. There is in Kentucky a singular and deplorable deficiency of female teachers in our common schools, for very young children, (in 1830 there were only 71 of all kinds in the State.) May not this deficiency, and the consequent lack of a sweet, mild, religious restraint, in the earliest years of life, account for the slight hold which religious considerations have upon the consciences of young people?

8. Would there be half the amount of dinking and pistolling, if false notions of honor were not instilled into the hearts of young men? Would not most of them when it came to the pinch, think better of their folly, were they not afraid of the sneers of their thoughtless companions?

9. But may we not trace all these evils up to a much more fatal and comprehensive source and cause—the almost total absence of religious restraints? In these affairs who ever thinks of the violated laws of an offended God! who ever refers to the worth of the soul, and to the untold horrors of judgment unprepared for, on the part of the murderer, and a more fearful and eternal doom, on the part of the murderer? All is referred to a present, worldly standard. What will the world think of it? What will become of the poor wife and children of the departed? And how much the poor father and mother of the survivor are to be pitied? But who thinks of the broken law of God? who trembles at the thought of a judgment to come?

10. Another proximate cause of similar powerful influence, and only one other, remains to be mentioned—the foolish, barbarous practice of carrying concealed weapons; which, with our young people, and floating population, who are least to be trusted with them, is now so nearly universal. If weapons were not at hand at the fatal moment of madly excited passion, there would be wanting to a great extent, the power to wreak such prompt and horrible vengeance. Neither is it to be doubted that the consciousness of having in their power to work their brutal purposes, has a powerful tendency to arouse the passions of the young to the stinging or shooting point. Probably this shocking practice would be diminished with intemperance and idleness, nine tenths of the unhappy victims, who are every year hurried, unprepared, into the presence of their God!

We are free to confess that Mr. Smith's mode of explaining the lamentable fact, alluded to, does not seem to us by any means unobjectionable. It must be admitted, that the newness of any country and the violent habits of its first settlers may have much influence in lessening a regard for human life among their descendants. This cause has doubtless had its influence in Kentucky, and may help to explain why there should be more murders in this State than in older states, but not why there should be more murders in this State than in States equally new, such as Indiana and Ohio, the first settlers of which had also to contend with the savage and were familiar "with scenes of blood and violence."

All the other circumstances mentioned by Mr. Smith, except those connected by him with the system of Slavery, prevail in the adjoining free states, and cannot therefore be adduced to account for the peculiar frequency of homicide in Kentucky, unless on the assumption that in this State, they are marked by peculiar force and activity. The question then is, what gives rise to this "peculiar force and activity"? If these circumstances act with more power in Kentucky than in Ohio, there must be a reason for the difference, and to our minds nothing appears more evident, than that the existence of Slavery in the former State constitutes the reason. Other circumstances may furnish reasons, but we contend that this peculiar system is the principal reason. The following, among many other considerations that might be mentioned, lead us to this conclusion.

Slavery tends to corrupt the entire moral character of the master. It is a flagrant sin, and indulgence in it shows that the principle of sinning is admitted into the heart. This principle will lead to, or favor the commission of, any crime however great: it is the root of bitterness, a root which will inevitably send up a trunk bearing every species of evil. It is thus that slavery prepares the soil of the heart for the seed of the tempter, takes off the edge of the moral sensibilities, and strengthens all the tendencies of wickedness.

Slavery exalts the master in most instances above the necessity of labor, and gives his children over to be victims of idleness. What condition so invites temptation, so lays open the heart to its attacks, so unmans virtuous resolution, so stimulates natural corruption, as idleness? The slaveholder, noting in the plenty procured by his slaves, with an accumulated excitability seldom expended in study, never exhausted by labor, is tempted to seek pleasure abroad in scenes of debauchery or in dissipating sports. In companies inflamed with wine, or at games which set on fire the avarice or passion of human nature, it is no wonder that insults and deeds of revenge should be fearfully multiplied.

Slavery indisposes to family restraints, and thereby cherishes habits at variance with every kind of restraint. Is it any wonder that where it prevails, "religious restraints" should become so peculiarly irksome as to be almost entirely thrown off?

Slavery fosters pride, passion, and the love of command. These vices are strengthened in parents by the system they administer. These vices, children admire in their parents and are peculiarly imbued with, from the circumstances in which they are placed. These vices in their children, parents look upon with an approving or at most an indifferent eye. Is it to be wondered at then, that a community made up of such parents and children, should characterize as "high-minded and honorable," any signal display of pride, resentment, or domineering spirit? That the young men should grow up "heady, violent and imperious"? That false notions of honor should prevail? That a latent ferocity should take the place of gentleness and christian forbearance? That the "intelligent and refined" should smile upon one, who in "honorable" combat has slain his antagonist, or in some sudden outburst of fury at an insult, has dared to defy the laws of God by slaking his hot revenge in blood?

Slavery is an enemy to extended education. Mr. Smith laments the singular deficiency of female teachers. Let him lament the curse which hinders the operation of the system that would make them. Kentucky is said to have an excellent school system established by law; but hear what her own citizens say of it in practice.

The editor of the Elizabethtown (Ky.) Register says, in special reference to it—

"We are at a dead halt. Scarcely a pulse is beating high with an ardent feeling, that the streams of knowledge may flow freely and be accessible to the great mass of the community. Scarcely a voice is raised—a powerful intellect exerting its energies, or an eloquent pen pouring out its effusions, to rouse the slumbering feelings of our people. We lament this state of things. It ought not to be so. We have a state of capacities large and giant-like, yet undeveloped and unattended to, in the rush of our disposition to pass over the concerns of our state government and improvement in order to show ourselves busy in managing the affairs of the nation.

And again: a writer over the signature of M. in the Louisville Journal says,

"Slavery is a political evil, because it prevents the introduction of common schools. The triumphs of mind are the noblest in the annals of history: barren rocks, precipitous mountains, mighty rivers, are rendered subservient to man's purposes, by mind's irresistible authority: the cultivated mind of a Fulton contributed millions to the wealth of nations, by the application of steam to mechanical purposes: the cultivated mind of a Franklin deprived thunderstorms of their destructiveness, by taming the wild and gleaming lightning, which, prior to him, left naught but ruin and desolation in its train. To qualify minds for such achievements, cultivation is necessary; to preserve men's morals from corruption and profligacy, mental and moral enlightenment is necessary; to qualify men for the high privileges of American citizenship, a knowledge of our laws and institutions is necessary; therefore every patriot and philanthropist should advocate warmly the diffusion of useful knowledge. Slavery is the efficient opponent of common school education; whether politicians will love slavery better than knowledge and its numerous advantages, is yet to be revealed from the arena of their career."

We will conclude by one question—if it be not Slavery which gives to all the other causes (after the first) mentioned by Mr. Smith, their peculiar activity in producing so great a number of homicides in Kentucky as compared with other States, what then is it?—Eo. PAUL.

Remarks on Dr. Channing's Letter. (CONTINUED.)

The abolitionists are charged with "intolerance towards those in the free states who oppose them, or who refuse to participate with them in their operations."

In our remarks last week, we attempted to account for the present posture of the South—exhibiting as it now does a firm, and apparently indissoluble, Union between church and state for the defence of slavery. To our mind, the fact of this Union is not more certain, than the immediate cause to which we have chosen to attribute it. This was then, stated to be—that, slave-holders out of the church, were to say nothing more to slave-holders in the church, about the inconsistency of slave-holding with their religious professions as christians.

At the same time we said, we found it more difficult to account for the course that the people of the North (by this we mean the free states) have thought proper to pursue towards abolitionists. In this remark, we do not mean to include, strictly speaking, those who are found in the several classes of conservatives, merchants, politicians, of whom Dr. C. speaks, and for whose conduct, in upholding the highest claims of the slave-holders, he has furnished the most satisfactory reasons: we mean those who constitute the effective moral and intellectual power of the North. For them the excuses assigned by Dr. Channing appear to us insufficient.

We will not deny that many of them are influenced by "the fear of a servile war"—"of political convulsion"—that they have a clear "perception of the difficulties of great social changes"—that they are actuated by feelings of "self-distrust" and a "dread of rashness" on the part of abolitionists. Admitting all this, it seems to dwindle to a mere atom, in comparison with the huge amount of wrong, the abolitionists have suffered at their hands. From the first organization of the abolitionists, there have been found among them men whose praise was in all the church, for their enlightened zeal, their liberality, their pureness of life and heart, their singleness of christian purpose. They believed that oppression, in the form of slave-holding was a transgression of God's laws—a flagrant outrage of the plainest principles of humanity—that it was a source of corruption to the slave—to the master—and that its termination must be, if persisted in, an utter overthrow of the republicanism of this government. Others around them—and in the church too, said the same thing. Yet, no sooner did the abolitionists proceed to act on, what they, in common with their present opposers, had professed; no sooner did they enter on the performance of what duty in its most comprehensive sense required of them, they were branded by those who knew them, with the most suspected and opprobrious names. They were not excommunicated by their respective churches—the innocency of their lives preponderating over the unpopularity of their principles, and infusing a fear into those who opposed them of attempting this species of persecution. Yet, although they were retained in the churches, and had access to the fullest and most formal privileges of their several religious connexions, still they were held up before the world, and especially before that portion of it with whom they were solicitous to secure the most powerful aid, at the same time, the most peaceful influence, as mischievous and fanatical in the extreme. They were spoken of publicly, by their own brethren in terms that would have been thought unbefitting in christians to apply to such, as they would feel themselves authorized to treat as heathens and publicans. Indeed, were it not for the cause before mentioned, it might be supposed, they were retained in the churches, in order that more weight might be given to the invective with which their fellow christians pursued them.

We ask for an inspection of Religious Journals, and of commercial and political newspapers, under the control of Religious men, at the north. However excellent was the name of any philanthropist in other walks of benevolence, no sooner did he profess himself an abolitionist, than his praises were made curses, and his name was coupled with a fanaticism dark, ruinous, desolating. Did the Abolitionists in their forms of association, in their multiplied publications renounce all force, abjure all violence on their own part, and condemn it on the part of the oppressed?—where is one of the journals above mentioned that was careful to make known the South these pacific declarations, and to give it an assurance of their sincerity drawn from the pacific characters of those who made them. Did news come from the West Indies of the injurious operation of the British Emancipation Act?—it was faithfully inscribed on their every page, and despatched to every corner of the land. Did news come of its salutary operation? These papers set it down as the coining of the fanatic, or theirs was the silence of the grave in relation to it. When public meetings, assembled to hear the exposition of their principles and measures, have been broken up by the outrages of the disorderly; when the abolitionists have been persecuted from city to city; when they have been compelled, with their families to abandon their own firesides to escape the hands of an infuriated multitude gadded on in part by these very journals; when their houses have been ransacked and their goods made spoil of—and they themselves have been abducted and pelted, and beaten and scourged and dragged through the streets as felons and murderers:—when all this has been borne with an unresisting meekness, that ought to have stirred the very stones to cry out with indignation, with but rare exceptions, what was the conduct of these journals? They damned with faint praise even when that was awarded. They cried out against the abolitionists as the originators of the outrages out against the abolitionists—and where they could not but under which they suffered—and where they could not but under condemn the lawlessness of their assailants, they found some excuse for them by charging imprudence and recklessness on the party injured. Where is one of these journals that has offered any atonement for its error by public confession and repentance? Or, that has found in the patient suffering by abolitionists of their own wrongs, any assurance for the South, that they never would encourage or countenance forcible resistance to evils on the part of those whose cause they had espoused. It is believed, there is not one. So far from it, that up to the present day, in the face of all the evidence they have of the peaceful character of their object, they revile them with unmitigated hostility. Nor, was this all: Professors of Colleges and Theolo-

Seminaries—distinguished divines and writers for
Periodicals of the highest class and the most extensive
circulation, became not only the stigmatizers of Abolitionists
but the defenders of slavery. Whilst Anti-Slavery Asso-
ciations were the only ones forbidden to the young men in
the Seminaries, their instructors made the religious peri-
odicals the medium of advocating the consistency with
Christian religion of a system, which its daily witnesses,
those living in the midst of it, and partaking in its support,
have testified, makes and perpetuates its victims heathen;
and against which, through the civilized world, the best and
greatest men are bearing joint witness. They have de-
clared, substantially that the cause of Slave-emancipation
in this country was hopeless. They have made their own
assertion in effect, that the South has no conscience, the
basis of their argument. They have said of her virtually,
that she is impervious to the Truth, and all its renovating
influences; that she has no head and cannot think—no heart
and cannot feel. They have taunted abolitionists with not
going to the South, to proclaim their doctrines there, when the
Governor of one of the States had proclaimed that they
should be banished in the most summary manner, and a
Southern member of Congress had said in his place, that
whenever caught in the South, they should meet a felon's
death; and when the multitude, too, led by unresisted sub-
alterns imbued with their spirit had proceeded to carry out, in
practice, in repeated instances, against such as were sus-
pected of being abolitionists, the fierce and bloody principles in-
culcated from the highest sources.

What shall we say, too, of the treatment, abolitionists
have received from the Papal and others having the control
of churches—especially in the cities and large towns? They
have carefully and designedly excluded them from the
use of their churches, and of course in a great measure, from
access to their congregations—and have treated this enter-
prise of benevolence as they have treated none other of the
present day. Meetings for promoting the Temperance cause
—the circulating of Tracts—the dissemination of the Bible
through the land (except a part of our own)—for the edu-
cation of children of foreign immigrants among us—in fine
for almost any thing clothed in the vesture of benevolence,
have been held in most of our churches. Any thing has
seemed tolerable—aye, worthy of being cherished, except
the cause of the poor and the perishing among ourselves,
those who have been made poor by us and our forefathers,
and who are ready to perish by our persecutions. Let but
the heathen of the distant isles be named—let the missiona-
ry to Antipodean idolaters or even to the remote abori-
gines of our continent return from the scene of his labors
and desire to give an account of the moral waste he has
seen, to recommend his particular enterprise to the sym-
paties of the benevolent, and what church is not thrown open
to his use and honored by the scene? It is not necessary
in these cases to consult a board of Trustees or a vestry?
No. And why? There is something romantic in it—and the
more distant the land and the objects at which Benevo-
lence is summoned to reach, the more romantic and inter-
esting and deserving of promotion does the enterprise ap-
pear. But let the unhappy slave in bonds be named—let
the heathen in our midst be named—the heathen that Chris-
tians have made an hundred fold faster than they have
been enabled to redeem them in other lands—and what is
straightway done? The Church door is barred—double-
locked—the alarm is given to the congregation that a fan-
atic is in their midst—and they are all admonished to beware.
Oh! how vulgar is the heathenism the church has made!
how little to be pitied are the vice and ignorance the church
has produced and perpetuates! how light the bonds of the
slave when the church imposes them! How fanciful is he
who would mourn over distress the church has caused! and
how incendiary, he who would disturb the peaceful slumbers
of a church and country around whose couch are the un-
heard yet never ceasing cries of misery and woe, of
despair and death!

SYNOD OF ILLINOIS—ALTON OBSERVER.

A few weeks ago, in reporting the proceedings of the Il-
linois Synod, as given in the Alton Observer, we took the
liberty of making a few comments upon them. There was
much in those proceedings, which deserved commendation;
but some things which merited, as we supposed, rebuke.
We ventured to administer it, in the simplicity of our hearts,
for we verily thought the acts of public bodies were public
property, and might, without impropriety, come under pub-
lic review. We had no means of coming to a knowledge of
the sentiments of this Synod, save by its acts. These, to us,
appeared somewhat undecided and ambiguous. For exam-
ple, they had voted resolutions avowing that slavery was a
heinous sin against God, as loudly calling for repentance
and reformation, as Sabbath breaking, or any other sin;
and that ministers who engage in the practice of buying or
selling slaves, or approve of it in others, ought not to be suffered
to preach, or sit at the communion table. And they had vot-
ed for these resolutions, with not a dissentient voice. An-
other resolution then was introduced, as follows:—"That
abolitionism, as it is sometimes described, to wit, That all
slave-holding is sin, be and the same is hereby disapproved."
Thirteen refused to vote on this resolution; and of the eight
who voted, four were in the affirmative, and four in the nega-
tive. We marvelled at this vote; we said it was "singul-
lar," we said it was to us "inscrutable." We marvelled,
because, in our judgment, they had just passed resolutions
unanimously, from which this last resolution flowed as a
necessary consequence. Hence we thought they appeared
undecided, although we did not even use so severe a term
as this.

The other resolution, the passage of which excited our
strutings, was this:

"Resolved, that abolitionism, as it is sometimes describ-
ed, viz. That immediate emancipation is the duty of the
master and right of the slave, irrespective of all conse-
quences, be and the same is hereby disapproved."

Our strictures on it amounted to this, That they were
fighting a shadow, that true abolitionism was regardless of
consequences, and the Synod must have known it so; why
then needlessly pass a vote of censure against it? They ar-
ranged to this, and nothing more; and the language was
not one jot more severe than that just used.

We now ask the Alton Observer, what ground he has
for asserting that we accompanied the publication of the re-
solutions with "severe remarks"—that we talked "in much
the same strain, as the Friend of Man, when it charged the
Synod with issuing papal indulgences to the members of the
Christian church to do that which violates God's law;" that
our "remarks" were "highly unbecoming and improper;" and
that to suspect us of "irrespective" abolitionism, would be
doing us less injustice than we did the Synod!

The following are Mr. Lovejoy's concluding remarks:
"In conclusion, we would simply remind these gentlemen
that a body of intelligent Christians, like the Synod of Il-
linois, are not likely to stultify themselves, and to suppose
themselves capable of doing it, and of issuing papal indulgences
to sin, argues a lamentable want of that charity which think-
eth no evil."

We never supposed that the Synod had issued "papal in-
dulgences to sin;" why does Mr. Lovejoy assume that we
did? One very simple request we make of this Editor, whose
independence and Christian courtesy we have always es-
teemed; and that is, whenever he thinks it right to
censure our remarks, he would quote the remarks them-
selves, and not give his impression of them.

In reference to the doings of the Synod, we repeat, that

the two resolutions animadverted on by us, would very na-
turally suggest to any one not particularly acquainted with
that body, that their opinions and conduct were ambiguous
and undecided. We owe it to the Synod now to give Mr.
Lovejoy's understanding of the two resolutions.

In reference to the first resolution, he says,
"It was late at night, the last night of the session, there
was not time for much deliberation: Synod knew that the
word 'slaveholding' was very differently interpreted by dif-
ferent individuals, and while they were not prepared to say
that all slaveholding, of any kind, was sinful, they were equally
unwilling by their vote to sanction, by the most remote im-
plication, the system of American slavery. To this resolution
they therefore said nothing."

"The second resolution was adopted unanimously, for
the simple reason, as was stated by those who voted for it,
that they knew of no free irrespective of all consequences.
The Synod of Illinois wish the slaves to be freed, because
they believe the consequences of their freedom will be alike
beneficial to them and to their masters. If they believed
that liberty would prove in reality a curse to the colored man,
they would not desire it for him. It was to meet the oft re-
peated assertion that abolitionists were laboring to set the
slaves free, in utter disregard of all consequences, even tho'
those consequences should be the murder of their late mas-
ters, and deluging the land with fire and blood, that the re-
solution was accepted. Synod believed that there was no
such abolitionism as this, although they knew that many per-
sons really supposed there was, and they wished to convince
these of their error by adopting the resolution."

Mr. Thompson.—This gentleman, we learn from the
Liberator, is lecturing diligently to crowded audiences in
Great Britain. His invitations to lecture are more than he
can attend to. The people seem bent on knowing every
thing that can be known on the subject of American slavery.
The following is the concluding paragraph of the letter from
England, published in the Liberator.

"We have many fanatics, 'incendiary foreigners,' in
this country, on the subject of American slavery, besides
Mr. Thompson. They will think—they will speak upon
it—and why not? We are grateful to Mr. Breckinridge
and his associates, for telling us of our crimes—of our East In-
dian slavery, etc. Although they don't say it in a meek and
Christian spirit—we hope to improve by their remonstrances.
It is quite shocking that the board system of slavery in A-
merica should find so many apologists in your various
churches. This must be exceeding scorching and withering
to vital religion. I hope the addresses or remonstrances
from this country, will produce some salutary effect. We
cannot find any countenance given to it in the Bible, and
therefore we cannot give it any quarter."

The colored people of Boston have lately formed a litera-
ry and scientific society, to be called the Adelphean Union.
We see it stated that a law has, for many years, been
in operation in South Carolina, prohibiting a master from
returning with any slave whom he has voluntarily carried
north of the Potomac. Why then quarrel with Massachu-
setts for pronouncing such slaves free, when carried into her
territory? Or, may a man be deprived of his property for
slavery's, but not for freedom's sake?—Alton Observer.

The presiding bishop, at the late Onieda Conference, placed
the Rev. Mr. Mitchell at the Uica station, because he
was anti-abolitionist. But lo! in a few weeks he passed
that way again, and found Mr. M. an open and zealous
abolitionist. The Bishop's extinguisher was on fire.—Ib.

ANOTHER NEGRO BURNING.

The Alabama Gazette says, we have been informed that
the slave, William, who murdered his master, (Huskey)
and five negroes some weeks since, was taken by a party,
a few days since, from the sheriff of Hot Spring, and burned
alive! Yes, tied up to a limb of a tree, a fire built under
him, and he consumed in slow and lingering tortures.

[How can a community, where such horrible deeds are
acquiesced in, expect to be called otherwise than barbarous?
The wild Indian tortures his captive, that he may see and
delight in his sufferings!—He is a savage. The slaveholder
tortures his slave over a slow fire that he may gloat on his
writings: He is brave and chivalrous.]

How necessary it is becoming for the north to publish to
the world her testimony against slavery, the spring of such
inhumanities, that she may not suffer the disgrace of having
any participation in them!—Ed. Phil.

TEXAS IN ENGLAND.—The London Times of Nov. 8th says:—
"We see, in the late proceedings of the Government and people
of the United States, a confirmation of the suspicion long en-
tertained in the best informed diplomatic circles, that the annex-
ation of Texas to their already unwieldy territory is a favorite
project. Texas would be the stepping stone to the acquisition of
Mexico. Will such a result, probably not a very distant one, be
most injurious to Spain or to the American Union? Meantime,
will Europe be content to be a quiet observer of the progress of
event?"

The message of Governor Ritner to the Legislature, has
aroused the ire of the southern slave holders to the highest pitch.
They denounce him in the true style of their hot-headed leader,
George M'Duffie, because of his attachment to, and advocacy of
the cause of human rights. Gov. Ritner goes for FREEDOM—he
"shows not the knee to the dark spirit of slavery," and the enlight-
ened people of this State will repel with indignation any foreign
attempt to injure the standing of their philanthropic and patriotic
Governor.—Delaware County Republican.

ABOLITION.—A bill is before the legislature of Missouri which
provides that any person who shall in that state publish, circulate,
or cause to be circulated, promulgate or cause to be promulgated,
either in writing or otherwise, any matter calculated to excite
slaves or other people of color, to sedition, rebellion or revolution
shall for the first offence, be deemed and treated as a vagrant,
Upon information given to any magistrate, he is bound to issue
a warrant forthwith to apprehend the accused. When brought
before him a jury is to be summoned, to try whether the accused be
guilty, and if found guilty of either of the offences set forth above,
the jury are directed so to bring in their verdict, and to declare for
what length of time he shall be sold as a vagrant, not to be less
than three, and not more than twelve months. The offender is im-
mediately to be offered at public sale by the sheriff for other officer,
on the warrant of the magistrate, to the highest bidder; when the
usual proceedings take place to secure the payment of the money.
For the second offence, he is to be sentenced to the penitentiary for
a time not exceeding five, nor less than two years.

Scenes at the South.

IX.

H—, formerly a slave, now residing in the Northern part of
Kentucky, purchased himself eight years ago, for \$340. He then
determined, by vigorous and persevering effort, to purchase the
freedom of his wife. Her master promised to take \$300 for her,
and to wait with H— until he could earn it. H— had already
paid \$120 of this sum, and had succeeded in raising the \$180, yet
unpaid. The master in the meantime had sold her to be taken
down the river. H— has heard nothing of her since—and the
master refuses to repay the \$120 he had received. H—
looks and acts as if he had buried his last friend on earth.

X.

Mrs. M— lived in M— county, Kentucky, and was a
member of the Presbyterian church. She held as a slave a woman
who was not only a member of the same church, but the mother
of two little girls about 7 and 9 years old. The mistress sold her
to a Slaveholder without giving her the slightest intimation of her de-
sign. She knew nothing of it till the slave seized her, to take her
away to his depot, preparatory to her removal to the Southern
slave market. Horror-struck, the shrieks of the mother were like
those of the distracted. Those of the little daughters were added
to hers. The lady who gave this account to the narrator, and
who lived hard by, described it as the most affecting and overpow-
ering scene she had ever witnessed. But Mrs. M— was unsha-
ken. In full view of the Church and her enslaved sister fre-
quented, and in her own sight, she suffered a Christian mother to
be torn from her little ones, to be driven like a beast to the human
shambles.

Not long afterward Mrs. M— removed to Illinois—to which
this was a preparatory step—taking with her the two little girls.
The steamer by which she travelled burst its boiler. One of the
girls, it is said, was killed by the explosion—the other badly
scalded.

The above is the occasional working, at least, of a system that
it is said may be maintained consistently with a Christian life—and
that gives to the ladies of the South such superiority of refine-
ment, manners and mind over the ladies of the North.

The Columbus Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette under
date of 13th instant says:

"The vexed question relative to black and mulatto persons,
again engrossed the attention of the Senate, the select committee
to whom the subject was referred, having reported the bill back
without amendment. After debating the subject, on the constitu-
tionality of the measures sought to be enforced, as well as the jus-
tice and expediency, a motion to strike out all after the enacting
clause, and inserting a substitute, was offered by Mr. Smith, of
Warren. The substitute provides, that all lands, tenements,
hereditaments, &c. that may hereafter be conveyed, sold, or
leased, to any black or mulatto person, or to any individual in
trust for them, shall be considered void, and of no effect, and all
such property so conveyed, shall be forfeited to the State, to be ap-
propriated in such manner as the General Assembly may hereaf-
ter direct."

Mr. Smith explained his reasons for offering the amendment,
the principal one of which was that he saw a disposition on the
part of the Senate, for some legislation on this topic; and as the
bill in its present form was not satisfactory, he thought the propo-
sed amendment was as unobjectionable, as any that could be
made; at the same time he would not say, that he should vote
for it, on the final passage of the bill, if the Senate thought proper
to adopt it.

Mr. Steel, of Montgomery, moved an indefinite postponement
of the bill. Ayes 8 says 28. It was finally referred to Mr. Pat-
erson. [We will not believe till it is done, that Ohio will add another
deed of legislative cruelty and persecution to her already nume-
rous list against a poor and helpless class of the community. Let
us forbear taking another step, unless we are determined to fall
in the rear of the world in its advancing humanity and civiliza-
tion—or making another mark to show the future historian our
actual progress in legislative Vandalism and barbarity.—Ed.
Philanthropist.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

To Female Anti-Slavery Societies in the State of Ohio.

At the suggestions of a dear sister, who has been long en-
gaged in personal efforts for the diffusion of knowledge a-
mong the colored population of Ohio, I beg leave to lay
before you, the claims of this class of individuals, upon
your munificence.

A considerable number of colored people,—principally
from Cincinnati, and most of them emancipated slaves,—have
recently located themselves in small settlements, of from
thirty to forty and one hundred families each,—in some of
the Western Counties of this State. They have done this,
chiefly by the advice of friends, who, seeing the disabili-
ties under which they labored in our large towns and
cities, have recommended the purchase of farms, believing

that on these, removed from all the blighting influences, which
public sentiment is every where exciting against them, they
would be more likely to obtain the comforts of life, and ac-
quire the character of a virtuous and industrious yeomanry.
These settlements are receiving constant accessions, as the
means of purchasing are obtained. The situation of the
settlers themselves, is not very different from that of many
of our Western emigrants, who expend their little all to
find a home in the wilderness,—and having purchased a
few acres of ground, opened a clearing, and erected a cabin,
find their resources exhausted. They have the same diffi-
culties to encounter and the same privations to endure,
that befel the pioneers in every similar enterprise. As I
have before remarked, many of them are emancipated slaves.

They have expended the vigor of youth, the bone and sin-
ew of manhood in unrequited toil, and then, by over-tak-
ing their already exhausted powers, have gathered together
the means of purchasing their own freedom, and in some
instances, the freedom of their families. But very little
time has elapsed, since they could call their gains their own,
and considering the sources through which these gains are
realized, we cannot but wonder, that they are enabled to
make even the smallest purchases. It will be obvious, that
in their present circumstances, they must, for a time, be
utterly unable, to support schools among themselves, and
that, in very many instances, were schools provided, the
children could not attend, for want of suitable clothing and
books. Sister W—, writes that many families are la-
mentably destitute, and must suffer more or less from the
inclemencies of the season, unless sensibly provided for,
by the hand of charity. She further remarks, "there are
teachers," (females I presume), "who are willing, yea, who
would rejoice, to be on the ground now, but they have not
the means of defraying their expenses to the settlements,
nor of support while there." Is this so?—Are there those,
who are willing to encounter obloquy and scorn among un-
scrupulous—privations and hardship among them, that they may
pour light into the darkened mind, and open up to the
outcast and wandering, the way of life? And must they be
withheld from this labor of love, because there are none to
help? I trust not. Surely it is but a small sacrifice
which the Lord requires at our hands,—when he continues
us in the possession of all our fire-side comforts,—and only
asks a trifle of the abundance which he has committed to
our stewardship, in aid of those, who are ready to offer
themselves, an acceptable offering on the altar of Mercy.

Some of our Societies are pledged to the State Society for
this year, and will not therefore be able to do much for the
relief of these settlements at present. Other Societies
however, have given no such pledge. Might not these do
something? Small Societies will be unable accomplish
much alone, but by throwing their resources into a common
channel, very considerable good might be accomplished.—
The American Anti-Slavery Society are doing something
in this department, and perhaps we could not do better,
than to throw our funds into its treasury for this special ob-
ject. Should these hints meet the approbation of Female
Societies, it is hoped they will be acted upon without delay,
—or if any prefer some place of union among ourselves,—
whereby our efforts may be concentrated on this or any other
object—let such plan be proposed—through the medium of
the Philanthropist, and submitted to the consideration of
sister abolitionists, with a view to further action.

In addition to what has been proposed, we might have
Anti-Slavery Sewing Societies,—whose business it should
be, to make up garments and forward them to the settle-
ments,—as was the custom in some places for many years,
in aid of the Osage other Indian Missions. At any
rate, what we do should be done quickly,—for the genera-
tions of men are passing rapidly onward to eternity,—and
every hour that flies, diminishes the privilege, both of
giving and receiving.

While I am writing on this subject, I would offer one
other suggestion; whereby we may hope to benefit the peo-
ple of color among ourselves. It is, by the organization of
Maternal Associations among them, in all our principal
towns and cities, where any number of them reside. Two
or three such Associations have already been formed. The
course pursued has been this. Colored mothers have been
invited to meet together at one of their own houses; a Con-
stitution has been presented and adopted, proper Officers
chosen among themselves, and great pains taken, to make
them acquainted with the nature and design of the Institu-
tion. One or two of those, who feel interested in their wel-
fare, usually attend their meetings,—with suitable selections
for reading, and endeavor with mildness and discretion, to
enlighten them on the subject of family government, econo-
my, &c. It is believed that such Associations properly
conducted among them, will contribute very materially to

their elevation in character and morals. As a people, they
have very little knowledge of practical duties. Their reli-
gion consists mostly in frames and feelings, but of their re-
sponsibilities as rational beings, they are deplorably ignorant.
This is no more than we ought to expect, when we consider
their neglected and despised condition; and as we have been
accessories, in keeping, if not in placing them where they
are, let us now, dear sisters, cheerfully undertake any labor
of love in their behalf. But in all such efforts a difficulty
meets us at the threshold. The prejudice, which we have
so long fostered against them, is not more deep rooted and
implacable, than is theirs against us—with this difference
however. Ours is based on certain contingencies wholly
beyond their control; theirs is predicated on a variety of con-
tumelious and overtacts, exercised by us towards their unfor-
tunate race, for many generations. When therefore, some
fair lady, who has lived for many years within half a mile
of their humble dwellings, visits them perhaps, for the first
time, to propose some plan for elevating their condition,—
they regard her with utter incredulity, and though they may
yield a languid assent to her proposition, yet a secret sus-
picion of her motive still lurks within, and they have no
heart to co-operate with her designs. The first thing to be
done therefore, is to inspire their confidence: until this is effec-
ted, all personal efforts in their behalf will be fruitless. And
we must not be weary, if for a long time we witness no
such result. Look at the course of conduct pursued to-
wards them and theirs for so many years. Will the labor of a
day,—a few kind words and fair speeches, obliterate the re-
membrance of those nameless wrongs, which have been so
long burning like a fire within them? Oh there is a mighty
labor to be done among this neglected and down-
trodden people, ere they rise to their proper rank in the
Universe of God. 'Twere enough to make an angel
weep, when he sees how man has ruined man; how the
crushed soul, that should have felt a delightful buoyancy,
in the communion of expanded intellect, and sympathizing
heart, is struggling under the mighty incubus that presses it
to the dust. Philanthropy may soon knock
off the fetters of the slave, and write free upon his forehead;
—but the labor of years must be requisite, to remove the
shackles of prejudice from such as have long enjoyed but
nominal liberty, and enable the mind to leap forth with joy-
ous confidence, towards those whom they have hitherto re-
garded with distrust.

In offering the foregoing hints for the consideration of
Female Societies, let me not be misunderstood. I would not,
that all our funds and efforts should flow forth towards
the free, at the expense of the enslaved. I trust it will
still be a prominent object of our organizations, to diffuse
Anti-Slavery publications, for it is only by bringing prin-
ciples and facts, to bear upon the subject of slavery; through
the medium of these, that we can hope for its peaceful
abolition. We are mainly indebted to the press, for all
that has been done in this matter, and it is from the press
that light must still emanate, if the principles we maintain
ultimately triumph.

AMICUS.

MANFIELD, 9th Jan 1837.

PRAYER.

Messrs. Editors:

My inmost soul exults in the advancement of our holy cause,
but I have been painfully impressed of late with fear, lest I
vainly rely upon our increased presses and agents, we forget
that our help is in God only. Has there been an increase of pray-
er corresponding to our increased array of instrumental power?
If I could reach every abolitionist in the land I would say, brother,
sister, this is the cause of God, pre-eminently the cause of God.
If I could speak to brother Thompson as he pleads the cause of
our country before the Christians of England and Scotland, I
would say to him, "when you have told them the story of our
shame, say also America as you pray for her that her leprosy
may be cleansed." Yes, let us ask abolitionists every where to
pray for editors and writers, that they may be clear and convinc-
ing in their presentations of truth, mild and forbearing in spirit,
firm and unflinching in purpose and resolute in logic; for agents,
that the opposition and at last which they encounter may not
dishearten them, and that for their defence they may have the
buckler of God Almighty; for the cause generally, that it may be
saved from heartless friends, and prevail speedily.

In behalf of the oppressed and the oppressor, let me urge Ab-
olitionists wherever there are two or three, to assemble themselves
on the last Monday of the month, to take part in the regular con-
cert, or if there be but one, let him seek his closet and intercede
with God. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning,
and thine health shall spring forth speedily."

Let me further suggest that we unite with the British Christians
in celebrating the first of August next, the anniversary of British
West India Emancipation. To them it may be a day of triumph
in God. To us it must be a day of humiliation and fasting.

THEOPHILUS.

P. S. It occurs to me that prayers and alms should be offered
in due proportions. I enclose \$10 for the Treasury of the Ohio
Anti-Slavery Society.

CLEVELAND, Jan. 2d, 1837.

MEETING OF THE COLORED PEOPLE—PETITIONS TO LEGISLATURE.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the colored ci-
zens of the city of Cleveland, held for the purpose of taking into
consideration, the expediency of petitioning the Legislature of
this state, to repeal those laws which tend to oppress us.

Mr. John Malvin was called to the Chair and M. M. Clark ap-
pointed Secretary.

After the object of the meeting was stated by the Chairman, it
was addressed by several gentlemen, at some length. Among
other remarks made, the following are a few extracts.

Mr. John Brown in his remarks, said, that he had long consid-
ered it to be the duty of the colored population of this state, to sum
up their grievances and present them to the legislature of this
state, and pray for their redress—and that this object, in his opin-
ion, could best be accomplished by a colored agent—that by him,
they present their petition to the legislature.

Mr. Solomon Griffin said, that as to the expediency of the mea-
sure, he thought no gentleman could, for a moment question.—
Could he, asked, any one question the right or the expediency
of a child humbly asking its parents to remove any grievances,
which it considered it labored under; especially when those griev-
ances were imposed without any just reasons? Such, he said,
was the condition of the colored citizen of this state. They were
subjects of this government, as the child is the subject of parental
government, and when, for any cause, just or unjust, they suffer
any grievances, it was their right to petition for their redress.
But fully he was aware, that the grievances, under which they
labored, were in the very nature of things, totally wrong.

Alexander Bonian said, that from his knowledge of the feelings
of the colored people through the state, especially in the city of
Cincinnati, they were one and the same with us on this subject.
That in Cincinnati and Chillicothe, they were exceedingly op-
pressed. That it was his opinion, these grievances which pressed
upon the entire colored population of the state—heavier than the
pressure of a huge mountain, and which greatly tend to blunt
their moral, physical and mental sensibilities, and damp the spirit
of industry and enterprise—will be removed by the legislative
authority of this state, when they, the colored people them-
selves, rightly and prudently petition, for their removal.

Mr. John Malvin, in reply to the arguments of some of the
gentlemen whose opinion it was that the object, could as well be
accomplished by a corresponding committee, as by an agency,
said, that he was altogether in favor of an agency, for Three
Reasons:—

1st. That by an agency alone, we should be able to accom-
plish our object. 2d. That by an agency we could obtain more valua-
ble and important facts, relative to the condition of the colored
population of this state; and 3d, that the agent could present the
petition to the legislature, under better and more favorable cir-
cumstances, than by any other means. These several positions,
he argued at some length and concluded by saying, that it was his
decided conviction, that were these measures, prudently and per-
severingly entered into, by the combined efforts of the colored
people, irrespective of any of the great movements of the day,
which agitate the community they might be carried through with
comparatively little trouble or expense, and would be succeed-
ed by inconceivable blessings and advantages to the entire
colored community. These gentlemen were followed by several

others, who were unanimous in their opinions, as to the expedi-
ency of petitioning the legislature.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That an agent be appointed to visit the several prin-
cipal towns and cities through this state, to obtain signatures to a
petition about to be presented to the legislature of this state, pray-
ing for the repeal of those laws which oppress us, people of color—
and to present the petition to the legislature before the close of its
present session.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to nominate
an agent.

Accordingly, Messrs. Stephen Griffin, Solomon Griffin and
John Brown, were chosen that committee.

The committee withdrew, and when they returned, reported the
following gentlemen as nominated.

Mr. Mollison M. Clark, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, under
graduate of Jefferson College, Penn., now a member of the Theo-
logical Department at Oberlin.

Resolved, That the report of the nominating committee, be ac-
cepted. Mr. Clark being then present, accepted the appoint-
ment.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to correspond
with the agent while on his agency.

Accordingly, Messrs. John Malvin, Stephen Griffin, Solomon
Griffin, John Brown and Alexander Bowman, were chosen that
committee.

Resolved, That that committee have the power to fill all vacan-
cies which from time to time, may occur in their body.

Resolved, that Mr. John Malvin be the Chairman of the corre-
sponding committee, and Solomon Griffin Secretary.

Resolved, That the above proceedings be published in some of
the papers in this city and elsewhere.

After a few other resolutions the meeting adjourned in-
definitely.

J. MALVIN, Chm.

M. M. CLARK, Sec'y.

P. S. The colored people of this state are requested to
support this agency as far as they may find it convenient.

INCONSISTENCY.

"If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have
been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets"—was the
language of the Jews of old. As they built the tombs of the
prophets and garlanded the sepulchres of the righteous, they
thought themselves different from their fathers; though they put
to death men for preaching against the same sins, that the proph-
ets condemned in their fathers. We need not go to other times
and nations to find men condemning in others, what they are doing
themselves. Our own country furnishes plenty of such examples.
There are Christian professors, who condemn the persecutions of
past ages, and give proof of their sincerity by participating in
the persecutions of the day, men claiming the names of patriots
and philanthropists, while they condemn the tyranny of other gov-
ernments, are endeavoring to wrest from their own brethren,
rights, those governments refrain from touching. The office hunter—
he who prefers gold to his country's right, they denounce and yet,
for their own aggrandizement would rather
away the most glorious of those rights. True all these things are
done under specious names, but things and not names should regu-
late our decisions. Some of the basest crimes that stain the an-
nals of our country, have been perpetrated under the fair name
of religion, or liberty. Good names cannot sanctify bad deeds, or
change their character. Arnold might have called it wisdom to
sell his army—his country for British Gold; but would it have
been wisdom? Men now may call it patriotism to sell for south-
ern patronage, the freedom of speech or of the press, but does
that make it patriotism? Will history call a man a traitor who
would have betrayed the interests of his country in '76, and him
a patriot, who in '36 is guilty of the same crime? The bigot, who
tied the Martyr to the stake and then applied the infernal torch,
did so in the name of religion;—members of churches who aid in
getting up mobs to destroy presses, do it in the same sacred name,
and cannot find terms to express their abhorrence of the
bigot.

What will be the judgement posterity will pronounce on the pa-
triotism, and regard to southern right and affection for the Union,
which were the avowed motives for the last summer's violence
against abolitionists?

From the Haverhill Gazette.
To the Memory of Thos. Shipley,
PRESIDENT OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY,
Who died on the 17th of 9th month, 1836, a devoted Christian and
Philanthropist.

BY J. C. WHITTIER.
Gone to thy Heavenly Father's rest—
The flowers of Eden round thee blowing!
And, on thine ear, the murmurs blest
Of Shiloh's waters softly flowing!
Beneath that Tree of Life which gives
To all the earth its leaves—
In the white robe of angels clad,
And, wandering by that sacred river,
Whose stream of holiness makes glad
The city of our God forever!

Gentlest of spirits—not for thee
Our tears are shed—our sighs are given:
Why mourn to know thou art a free
Frischer of the joys of Heaven?
Finished thy work, and kept thy faith
In Christian firmness unto death—
And beautiful, as sky and earth,
When Autumn's sun is downward going,
The blessed memory of thy worth
Around thy place of slumber glowing!

But, we for us—who linger still
With feeble strength and hearts less lowly,
And minds less steadfast to the will
Of Him, whose every work is holy!
For not like thine, is crucified
The spirit of our human pride:
And, at the bondman's tale of woe,
And, for the outcast and forsaken,
Not warm like thine, but cold and slow,
Our weaker sympathies awaken!

Darkly upon our struggling way
The storm of human hate is sweeping;
Hunted and branded, and a prey,
Our watch amidst the darkness keeping!
Oh! for that hidden strength which can
Nerve unto death the inner man!
Oh—for thy spirit tried and true,
And constant in the hour of trial—
Prepared to suffer or to do
In meekness and in self-denial.

Oh, for that spirit meek and mild
Devoided, spurred, yet uncomplaining—
By men deserted and reviled,
Yet faithful to its trust remaining,
Still prompt and resolute to save
From scourge and chain the hunted slave!
Unwavering in the Truth's defence
Even where the fires of hate are burning,
The unquailing eye of innocence
Alone upon the oppressor turning!

Oh—lord of thousands! to thy grave,
Scorning of heart thy brethren here! thee!
The poor man and the rescued slave
Wept as the broken earth closed o'er thee,
And grateful tears like summer rain
Quickened thy dying grass again!
And there, as to some pilgrim shrine
Shall come, the outcast and the lowly,
Of gentle deeds and words of thine,
Recalling memories sweet and holy!

Oh for the death the righteous die
An end, like Autumn's day declining,
Oh human hearts, as on the sky,
With holier, tender beauty shining;
As to the parting soul were given
The radiance of an opening heaven!
Alas! that pure and blessed light
From off the Eternal altar flowing,
Were bathing in its upward flight
The spirit of its worship going!

SLAVERY.

From 'Right & Wrong in Boston, No. 11. Case of the Female Captives.

The next circumstances which particularly excited our attention, were those which filled the newspapers, not only in this city, but throughout this region of country, during the month of August. The following is a faithful statement of them.

On Saturday, July 30th, a brig was observed to come to one of the wharves, and suddenly to put back, in consequence, it seemed, of something said to the captain by a man who was waiting his arrival. Some men of color, who observed these proceedings, took a boat with the intention of going on board. They were ordered off, but on rowing round the vessel, they discovered it to be the Chickasaw, in the Baltimore trade, and on further examination, perceived two women making signals of distress to them from the cabin windows. They instantly obtained a writ of habeas corpus, by which the women were taken from the custody of the Captain, and conveyed to the Leverett Street jail; where they were ministered unto by a few who had not forgotten to maintain the cause of the innocent, or shrunk from the visitation of prisoners, or neglected the fatherless in their affliction:—and who felt the humiliating contrast between what men do, and what they ought to do:—between the reception they give those who come to them from the South, destitute and distressed, and those who come clothed in gay apparel, with gold rings, standing in no need of their services. We will not sneeringly affirm of these garment fanciers, that there is no flesh in their obdurate hearts:—we hope it would be more just, as it certainly would be less painful, to say that their views of life, and duty, and God, and humanity, and religion, and salvation, are partial, feeble and contracted.

Would that by any sacrifice of ours, they might know the happiness of a more enlarged and just sphere of vision. At present, well may the man of color, and the abolitionist manacled with him, exclaim—

There are humane amongst them? How humane? Humane to free and happy—rich and powerful; Humane to such as see? Believe it not. Their excellencies, to do each other kindness, Would center over acres of our bodies! And this is their humanity! And such Is man's humanity the wide world through. Men's hearts you'll find on one side, soft as silk, And hard as nether millstone on the other.

Knowing so many painful facts respecting the seizure of free persons of color as slaves, we felt great sympathy with these women, and determined to give them at the trial, whatever comfort our presence might afford. We recollected that the same hall had been thronged with ladies to listen to the pleadings of Mr. Wirt and Mr. Webster; and that many ladies had even travelled to Salem to hear sentence of death pronounced upon the Knapps; and therefore we were under no temptation to omit any attention or kindness to these women, on the ground that the manner of it was unusual, or considered improper. Five members of our Society entered the Court Room about 9 o'clock on Monday morning, and found the prisoners already there, in consultation with their counsel.

After the entrance of Judge Shaw, the business commenced with a statement from the counsel for the claimant, that these women were the property (!!) of John B. Morris, of Baltimore: that the Constitution contained a provision by which they must be returned to him (!!!) and that he (the counsel) demanded a reasonable construction of the Constitution (!!!!) Mr. Sewall, the prisoners counsel argued in opposition, that in the Bill of Rights it was laid down as the basis of the practice of courts of law in Massachusetts, that ALL are born FREE, and have the right of enjoying and defending their LIBERTIES. This elicited slight applause from the audience, who were principally persons of color, which was instantly suppressed on finding it was not in order. Judge Shaw arose to give his decision. He observed that he had, as courtesy demanded, listened to the arguments of both gentlemen, though he did not think them applicable to the present case—the question being simply this: Has the Captain of the brig Chickasaw a right to convert his vessel into a prison? [Here a hurried consultation took place between the agent of the claimant and his counsel; and one of our members, who, from being also one of the Society of Friends, has had abundant opportunity to observe the course taken by slave hunters in cases like the present, beckoned to the person who sat nearest to the prisoners, and requested him to tell them to wait for nothing after they should be discharged; to listen for their discharge and depart as soon as they received it; as but an instant would intervene, before some other means would be resorted to, to detain them!] All this occupied but a moment—the messenger walked quietly back to his seat by the prisoners; all parties listened breathlessly for the decision; the Judge still continuing his speech. Our blood stood still as he went on—and the time seemed interminable. 'Whence it appears,' he said at length, 'that the prisoners must be discharged.' All rose at the word—the prisoners—the colored women who surrounded them—the counsel on both sides. The agent extended his hand to seize them. A spell seemed to hold them in the same position, one deeply exciting instant. The next, and the room was empty. A single voice among the crowd said Go! Go! There was no other noise, but the sound of feet, and a slight shriek from one of the women who fainted in the lobby and was carried down stairs.

Most grateful were we for their safety, nor has our satisfaction ever been alloyed on retrospection. There can be no claim of sanctity for earthly place or presence, though it were 'ten-fold consecrated,' to check the retreat of an innocent woman, accused of no crime, when violent seizure of her person is threatened by a slave-hunter. We see no other course which it would have been right for us, or for those women to pursue. We think that 'had they been detained on another process, great reproach would have rested somewhere; and that had we done otherwise than as we did, great reproach would have rested on us. Were all the circumstances again to occur, we should not, as Christian women, dare to do otherwise than we have done.

We sat till the Judge and the officers of the Court had departed, leaving the hall almost empty, and then rose to go out. One of our number, deeply impressed with a sense of the duty of rebuke, which every inhabitant of the free States owes to every slave holder, (and which is so entirely neglected, that Southern ministers and church members have declared, that if abolitionists really believed their traffic sinful, they would not be so backward in pungently reproving it,) addressed the agent, who was standing where we must necessarily pass him. We preserved the dialogue.

Friend. Thy prey hath escaped thee.
Mr. Turner. Madam, you are very rude to a stranger.

Friend. What then art thou, who comest here to kidnap women?

Mr. Turner. I am a member of the Methodist Church, and presume I give much more to the Colonization Society, than all of you together.

Friend. Why art thou here then, hunting for those who have colonized themselves? I despise thy conduct and thy Colonization Society alike.

We left this man, whose life passes in the unchecked, nay, authorized commission of a crime, which, in another hemisphere, our laws punish with death, evidently enraged and astonished, that woman should so deeply sympathize with wronged and suffering woman. May the reproof be fastened on his heart, till by the blessing of the God of the oppressed, he is roused to thought and repentance. He will then thank us for the painful awakening.

These oppressed and afflicted ones were treated by the members of our Society according to the commands of Christ. They were in prison, and we visited them; naked, and we clothed them; strangers, and we took them in.

Accept our imperfect obedience, blessed Saviour; for we did it as unto thee!

The following minutes of a conversation with one of them are worth preserving. She said, (speaking of the Agent) 'I was surprised to find they called him Turner, in Court; for he told me on board the vessel, that his name was William Wilson; and William Wilson I knew was a Methodist minister in Maryland, but I had never seen him, and did not know but this man was he. He asked to see my free papers, and as soon as he got them he destroyed them. He said I ought to be ashamed to do as I had done. I told him No; for I had done nothing wrong. He said he knew that; but what could I want more than I had always had? Told me that it was little that we wanted here below, for life was short.'

Question. Were you ever a slave?

Answer. Yes.

H. Were you happy in slavery?

A. No.

Q. Had you a kind master?

A. Yes; I never was whipped since I was a woman grown.

Q. Why were you not happy then?

A. Could you live always in horror, and be happy? Master used to say he never would sell us; but the price of us rising every day—people got round him making offers. The Georgia houses were near—Master didn't talk as he used to do about never selling us. Oh, there is nothing but horror to look forward in slavery.

Q. Why did you come to the North?

A. I thought I should not be in danger of falling into slavery again, if I could but get to the free states, I did not expect to meet such troubles

the moment I got here:—nor to meet such friends to care for me, either.

Q. Did you ever hear of Abolitionists?

A. [As if the word was one she did not understand] Abolitionists? No.

Q. Did you ever hear of Colonizationists?

A. Yes; they always come round us as soon as we get free and are doing well, to persuade us to go to Liberia. But they are found out now. They will not deceive many more so.

Q. Can you read?

A. A little.

Q. Were you ever on a plantation?

A. Oh my God, yes; but only on a visit. I never could tell you how they suffer. Most of the slaves that I knew are pious. They often meet to pray. Two or three will sometimes get together privately, and pray all night for deliverance.

Q. But if they do not know that there are any at the north laboring and praying for them, how do they think it is to come?

A. They are waiting to see God do it for them in some wonderful manner, as he did for the Israelites. No human power can do it. We pray to him, and have faith in him only: for the whole world seems to have forgotten us.

Q. Did you use to go to church?

A. Yes. I am a member of the Methodist Church.

Q. Do you think that all slaves ought to be free?

A. (Much surprised) Yes; certainly.

Q. Would there not be danger of the bad tempered ones killing their masters for having kept them so long in slavery?

A. (In extreme astonishment.) Why, no indeed! Why should they? All they want is to go free. They are willing to work; they don't want any thing wrong. Kill their masters, for doing right by them!

Q. But is this opinion, that they ought to be free a common thing among the slaves?

A. (Very solemnly.) Yes. Of course they all know it is wrong to keep them in slavery.

Q. What makes them think so?

A. Of course they think so. It stands to reason.

Q. Did it not distress you to leave your friends?

A. Yes it was a trying thing; but I had rather die than go back.

Q. Would not every thing go to wreck and ruin, if the slaves were all made free? Would they not be lazy and miserable?

A. Would they not work better if they had something to show for it? Just think how it would be with yourself:—except when people get very old—oh, if you would only take it home to yourself, and think what you should suffer to see your old mother obliged to work to the last minute! It does seem as if when people get worn out, they ought not to work.

In many conversations we had an opportunity of witnessing the nice moral sense and the ardent piety of this woman. We showed her some of the anti-slavery publications, and she seemed surprised at the correctness of the description of the condition of slaves. 'Only,' she added, 'it is impossible to put such dreadful sufferings properly into print.'

Here was the testimony of what American Slavery is in its mildest form. When we speak of the two millions and a half, how apt are we to forget that every one of them has a history which it would shock a christian to hear related; whether it were of the dancing, singing, degraded slave, degraded into contentment with his condition, whose greatest failure in duty appears, according to slaveholding morals, in running away, and whose highest virtue lies in reverencing as gods, the men who live by his unrequited toil;—the higher spirited and higher gifted being who is crushed or driven to frenzy by the attempts to make him like the first;—or the mild and intelligent slave, from whom education and the bible have not been entirely withheld, and whose suffering lies chiefly in apprehension.

These are painful details;—but it is either the sickly sentimentalism or the base denial of human brotherhood that would see only the fair-seeming garment with which slaveholders invest their system, nor look beneath to mark how the iron enters into the soul, in order the better to devise the means to effect its removal.

From the Louisville Journal.

SLAVERY IS A POLITICAL EVIL.

"Slavery is a curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave. In the abstract it is all wrong, and no possible contingency can make it right."—HENRY CLAY.

When a mariner has been tossed, many days, by the tempestuous elements of an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the first glimpse of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the adverse winds have driven him. So also the Statesman embraces the first period of quiescence in the political heavens, the first calm in party excitement, the first armistice in partisan warfare, and placing himself in some secure position, takes a retrospect of the past, surveys the present, contemplates the future, and having impartially considered all the causes of prosperity and happiness, is prepared to pursue an enlightened course, and to perform ably the duties confided to him. Such politicians are eminently worthy of confidence; they usually lead their constituents to the desired goal, rather than trail in the course of popular opinion. It is the glory of our country, that many luminous instances of great capacity, strict integrity, and profound judgment, have been presented to a world's admiration in our statesmen, some of whom have happily combined all the elements of greatness. The subject of this piece is to show, that slavery is an evil of no ordinary magnitude; and that it therefore merits the attention of all our citizens, especially our politicians.

Slavery is a political evil because it reduces the value of land. The principal part of the wealth of every nation is its land, the products of which are indispensable to all other pursuits. The system, therefore, which depreciates the value of land, operates most injuriously on all those, who feel its influence. Slavery, like an evil genius, has effectually prevented our State from developing its resources. Kentucky contains forty thousand square miles, about 20,000,000 of acres, which is most delightfully situated, having a climate of superior excellence, and a soil of surpassing fertility; it should be one of the most prosperous States in the Union. In 1830, the assessable property of the State, real and personal, amounted to 112,000,000; the Slaves at \$300 each, mounted to \$60,000,000; the horses and other stock amounts to 20,000,000; the land at 1 dollar 50 cents per acre amount to 39,000,000.

According to this calculation the lands in Kentucky, notwithstanding their favorableness of position, their productiveness, and the salubrity of the climate, bring only 1 dollar 50 cents per acre, on an average. Some may suppose, that this is as much as they are worth, and, that lands similarly advantaged in other States, are worth a like sum only: we beg all such to inquire before they make such a conclusion, and they will find, that land of equal fertility and local advantages is worth from 5 dollars, to 10 per acre more on the non-slaveholding, than on the slaveholding side of the Ohio River.

Slavery is a political evil, because it operates prejudicially on the middle and working classes of society. The most loyal and efficient subjects of a government, the bone and sinew of the country, are found in the middle classes; these classes are the bulwark of a country in war; their well-directed labors contribute largely to its prosperity in peace. The tainted atmosphere of slavery is not the chosen element of freemen in moderate circumstance; even stern necessity, the hardest of all masters, finds it difficult to coerce freemen into a competition with slaves, in the pursuits of labor; from such a competition the spirit of freedom shrinks instinctively; hence the small land-holder sells to a richer neighbor, the worthy mechanic moves to a neighboring city, and the most fruitful source of prosperity—the land—is left under control of the rich landlord, the poor tenant, and the ignorant slave; these classes contribute little or nothing to a nation's prosperity; riches begetting indolence and luxury; poverty, hopelessness and despondency; and slavery a degree of listlessness and inattention, from which even the iron-rod of tyranny, is often incapable of arousing its wretched victims. A tree is known by its fruit; the fruits of slavery may be seen, by contrasting the present depressed condition of Virginia and Maryland, with their former grandeur and opulence; or by comparing these States, respectively, with Pennsylvania and Ohio. On this subject the histories of Sparta and Rome teach important and instructive lessons.

Slavery is a political evil, because slave-labor is the dearest species of labor. Adam Smith the renowned author of the wealth of nations, speaks decisively on this subject. We quote his language. "But, if great improvements are seldom to be expected from great proprietors, they are least of all to be expected when they employ slaves for their workmen. The experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonstrates, that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any." A person, who can acquire no property, can have no other interest but to eat as much and labor as little as possible. Whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance can be squeezed out of him by violence only, and not by any interest of his own. In ancient Italy, how much the cultivation of corn degenerated, how unprofitable it became to the master when it fell under the management of slaves, is remarked by both Pliny and Columella." We see then, that labor is the only producing seed of national wealth recognized by political economy, of which liberty is the most congenial air. Industry, left free, is the whole lesson which political economy teaches; it is most essential to all the highest earthly interests for mankind: for industry is the most formidable enemy of vice and crime and the friend of virtue—political freedom is the mother and sustaining nurse of all true national happiness and greatness—and commercial freedom is the sovereign healer of national jealousies, the extinguisher of wars, and the grand diffuser of civilization.

From the New Era.

Force of Blood.

We remember seeing an anecdote going the rounds some time ago, similar in its principal features to the following little story; but we are not conscious that the latter has yet appeared in English. We found it in a French Newspaper—and as it details an event which, probably is of frequent occurrence, we make it known to our readers in the form in which it has been read in France. It would make a very pretty subject for a melodrama, were it not that the thought of the mercenary father is too shocking for contemplation, and comes over us with a chill similar to what we experience when reading that dreadful story of a bad father in the third volume of Dr. Hawtorth's *Adventurer*.

A SCENE IN A FREE COUNTRY.

A young medical man, named Wallace, highly educated and of an excellent character, emigrated from the northern part of the United States, to a city on the banks of the Mississippi. He took up his residence in a boarding house, the domestic details of which were superintended by a very handsome girl, about twenty years of age, for whom he quickly felt a very strong attachment. Although the young woman's complexion was not of the purest white, and the sun appeared to have kissed her cheek rather too emphatically, yet the physician, who was exempt from any prejudice of race or color, did not hesitate to offer her his hand. A secret marriage was resolved upon, and the happy couple soon afterwards fixed their abode in the District of Columbia, in the neighborhood of Washington.

There, in peace and retirement, they lived happily and contented with each other; when, one morning, an individual who possessed all the external and manners of what the world calls a gentleman, introduced himself under some frivolous pretext. The stranger addressed himself to the doctor.

"Pray, sir, did not your lady accompany you from Mississippi?"

"I believe she was born in that part of the country," was the reply.

"Ah! so I thought; the fact is, Sir, your lady is one of my slaves; and, unless you hard me over nine hundred dollars for her purchase, I shall advertise her as a fugitive," rejoined the gentleman.

"Your slave," repeated the astonished doctor—"impossible!"

"Whether you believe me, or not," said the Southerner, "is of very little consequence; you will find in the long run you will have to give her up. I will leave this bill of sale with you; and if in four and twenty hours—you do not send the

money to the Hotel where I am staying in Washington, I assure you I will have Mrs. Wallace's name advertised in all the public prints as a runaway slave."

So saying, the visitor departed. As soon as his back was turned the doctor ran up stairs to his wife, who had endeavored herself to him by her virtuous and amiable qualities. "My dearest angel," said he, "do not think me mad when I put a very singular question to you; but I have my reasons. Were you a slave at the time of our marriage?"

"Alas! yes—" sighed she, bursting into an agony of tears.

"But why did you not acquaint me of the circumstance before our union?" he tenderly inquired.

"I did not dare to do so! I feared lest you should be disgusted at the idea of taking a slave to your bed."

"Very well," answered he. "Now I know the truth, let us make the best of it. I will pay this man the \$900 he demands for you; in fact I love you so dearly, that a separation would be the most painful thing that could happen to me."

Mrs. Wallace was dreadfully agitated, asked her husband to describe the figure, manners, and features of the person who had claimed her as his chattel; which he did with as much precision as he could. He then asked her, "if the portraiture resembled her former master?"

"Alas!" said she, "too well; it resembles more than my master; it is my own father!"

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